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NATURE AND THE VOCABULARY OF NATURE IN THE WORKS OF SAINT CYPRIAN

This dissertation was conducted under the direction of Professor Roy J. Deferrari, as Major Professor, and was approved by Professor James M. Campbell and Professor Martin R. P. McGuire. as readers.

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Nature and the Vocabulary of Nature in the Works of Saint Cyprian

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF ARTS AND
SCIENCES OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

BY

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OF THE
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PREFACE

The persistent interest of many a modern scholar in the feeling for nature, and its expression in the world's great literature down through the centuries, might seem to have culminated in the able discussion of Alfred Biese in his three excellent volumes. Valuable and all inclusive as his analysis is, it was obviously impossible for any one person to exhaust the resources of the vast body of early Christian and Patristic writings. Most of this remains to be done.

Two of the Latin and one of the Greek Fathers have already been studied in the Department of Greek and Latin of the Catholic University of America: St. Ambrose by Sister Mary Theresa of the Cross Springer, St. Augustine by Sister Mary John Holman, Clement of Alexandria by Mable Gant Murphy. These are undoubtedly representative. The two great Fathers of the West, however, present Rome and Africa in the full light of the Golden Age of Christian literature; Clement of Alexandria, on the other hand, though of Africa, is in the two-century old Greek tradition.

Over a century earlier St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage and martyr, had made his pagan rhetorical heritage serve as a humble handmaid of his newly found, devoutly loved Christian treasure, the Sacred Scriptures, and had thus set a stamp on Christian Latin literature which it was to bear well into the Middle Ages, if not indeed even in our day.

Were it possible for a modern reader to meet St. Cyprian with such a complete unfamiliarity with Christian phraseology as a pagan oriental, for instance, might have today, he would very probably feel the freshness and vigor of his symbolism, would be won, as Cyprian himself had been, by the simple charm of Biblical language, the picturesque yet homely figures of field and flocks, meadows and springs, so as not to find its repetition dull or wearisome. To us his symbolism may seem commonplace and unoriginal simply because his influence and oft-quoted words once made it so popular that it has become an integral part, a natural expression of our religious thought.

Dominating the Church in North Africa, as it becomes powerful and articulate, stands the imposing figure of St. Cyprian, not the first of Christian writers of Latin, it is true; Tertullian and Minucius Felix precede him by a generation at least, whichever may have preceded the other. The latter in the single, brief but exquisitely polished dialogue, the *Octavius*, the former in a great mass of literary material: controversial, dogmatic, and ascetical, had each contributed to the newly opened field of Latin apologetics. Tertullian had also rough hewn a vocabulary to give expression to Christian thought previously voiced, for the most part, in Hebrew or Greek. Minucius Felix, however, wrote too little; Tertullian, because of his Montanistic principles and ultimate schism, for a time at least, was to wield his influence largely through the writings of his ardent admirer, the convert rhetorician, St. Cyprian, whose treatises on the same themes embodied his master's best thought.

The Bishop of Carthage, then, partly because of the wide expanse of his metropolitan see and its prestige not only in the whole African Church but even in Rome and more distant parts of Europe, partly because of his ancestral wealth and position, partly, no doubt, because of his unquestionable literary gifts, much more because of the noble qualities of mind and soul which retained pagan friendships while they won the admiration and love of a Christian people, was the most imposing figure, his the most familiar, the most authoritative voice in the Church until the great writers and saints of the fourth century of both East and West. To him, then, we should be able to look for the contribution of early Latin Christianity to the feeling for nature and its literary use. He stands at the threshold as it were, a man of fine sensibilities no less than a trained rhetorician, bringing with him the treasures of the Graeco-Roman culture, but he is turning in whole-hearted devotion to the sacred writings of the Christian faith. His reconciliation of the two and consecration of what seemed worthy in pagan thought to the cause of truth is of interest because of the enduring influence it was to exert over Christian thought and letters for centuries to come.

Biese disposed of St. Cyprian in the casual remark[a] that according to Cyprian earthly life was nothing more than a daily conflict with the devil. The linguistic studies of Watson, Bayard, Koch and Janssen, valuable as they are, made no attempt to treat the subject of nature imagery specifically. Monceaux also merely cites a few illustrations of his metaphors and comparisons. The gathering and presentation of the evidence on which definite conclusions on St. Cyprian's use of nature and the vocabulary of nature can be based is then the work of this study.

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[a] Cf. Biese, Das Naturgefühl im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, p. 52.

In presenting this material it has seemed impractical to make the usual divisions of simple and complex allusions, since St. Cyprian so rarely treats of a single aspect of nature. In fact, a real appreciation of his descriptive and figurative use of nature is best obtained from reading it in context, undistracted by such mechanical artifice as labels, assortment, and tabulation. Indeed a connected though incomplete translation, ready at hand to show Cyprian's real manner of introducing nature in his works, seemed so desirable that even at the risk of destroying the unity of treatment in the several chapters, it has been included with the introductory section on the apologies in Chapter One. This group is sufficiently varied to serve well in illustrating Cyprian's different ways of employing nature and its vocabulary. This running translation of all the passages involving nature in the one chapter as well as the translation of excerpts in the commentary sections, almost too literal to be truly literary, has been designedly so made as to suggest the wordplay and arrangement, the choice, balance, and repetition of words and phrases, characteristic of third century African rhetorical style, while at the same time it reveals the earnest purpose and fervent zeal of an apostolic Christian. Yet an English translation, even so made, proved altogether inadequate to present fairly Cyprian's method of painting nature pictures—a method depending largely on the sound and arrangement of his words in their own language. Pertinent passages have therefore been quoted in the original Latin and usually so arranged on the page, as far as the limits of a printed line permit, as to show in some measure at least, thought units and the stylistic devices of his rhetoric which combined to produce harmonious and pleasing results. In the discussion attention has sometimes been drawn to the way in which style serves this word artist in lieu of color, palette, and brush. One especially noteworthy feature of Cyprian's style, his constant and skillful attention to prose rhythm or clausulae, has been so exhaustively studied and well established that it will receive no further comment. In each chapter the Latin excerpts accompany a running commentary: partly translation or paraphrase, partly discussion of style and vocabulary grouped about the various phases of inorganic and organic nature, not in accord with such divisions in modern science, obviously, but rather in conformity with ancient thought.

No special effort has been made to discover literary dependence and influence. The findings of the several scholars, Hugo Koch in particular, who have devoted themselves to such studies have been mentioned occasionally to indicate the classic sources of Cyprian's poetic or philosophical vocabulary and the way in which his own words fathered a tradition in the language of the Church.

Hartel's critical text of the works of St. Cyprian in the CSEL, published in 1868-71, was one of the earliest to appear in the Vienna Corpus and subsequent revision proved desirable. The texts of the treatises, separately or in small groups, have been revised or improved; two indeed in our own Patristic Series: the *De Habitu Virginum* by Sister Angela Elizabeth Keenan, the *De Mortalitate* by Mary Louise Hannan. To avoid the confusion resulting from several systems of pagination, however, Hartel has been retained as the basis for citation in the treatises, with the improved readings incorporated. For the letters, also, although Bayard's excellent revision in the Budé series has been consulted, Hartel's pagination is cited; his use of capitals and punctuation retained. In each case chapter numbers are added to the page for easier location.

For translating Scripture quotations, the Challoner revision of the Douay version has been followed except where the thought is obviously different. In many instances where vocabulary and constructions have almost nothing in common, careful study proves complete harmony in meaning. The study of the Cyprianic version of the Bible is entirely outside our purpose, as it has long been the object of careful investigation by Scripture scholars.

Arbitrary as must be almost any division of St. Cyprian's works except the traditional one: treatises and letters, there is some justification for classifying the treatises as apologetic and moral-ascetical or disciplinary. To judge from the subjects listed by the deacon Pontius and from Cyprian's own references to his works our losses have been remarkedly slight—in fact, the problem has been rather to separate from the collection which has come down to us under Cyprian's name, works for which his authorship can be conclusively denied.

Nothing we have appears actually in sermon form, although the so-called disciplinary treatises may well have been developed from the homilies previously delivered, and written for the benefit of those who had been unable to hear their Bishop's exhortations. Between these and many of the letters there is only a superficial difference. Much of the correspondence also, with a slightly altered address, might serve equally as well for either sermons or treatises, and was obviously intended to be read to large groups of ecclesiastics or lay people. A comparatively smaller number are the brief business notes of an executive and statesman of the Church. Within these three groups the order of occurrence in Hartel's text determines position in sequence here, and well established authenticity has been the basis for inclusion in the study.

I wish here to express my appreciation to Dr. Roy J. Deferrari, Chairman of the Department of Greek and Latin and Secretary General of the Catholic University of America, for his unfailing interest and encouragement and for the time and valuable assistance which he gave so freely in directing this study. I am also greatly indebted for critical reading of the dissertation, and for helpful and stimulating suggestions to the Very Reverend James Marshall Campbell, Professor of Greek and Latin, and to Dr. Martin R. P. McGuire, Professor of Greek and Latin and Dean of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, who first introduced me to the works of St. Cyprian and who has so generously shared the books in his library. I am also deeply grateful to our Sisters of St. Francis who have made possible the completion and publication of this work.

SISTER MARY TARCISIA BALL, O.S.F.

Duns Scotus House of Studies
Washington, D. C.
April 26, 1945

CHAPTER I

NATURE AND THE VOCABULARY OF NATURE IN THE APOLOGETIC WORKS

A. Introduction and Partial Translation

Five compositions may be classed as apologetic although they differ more or less from the usual type of apology in that only one is addressed to a pagan, and even that is no systematic effort to justify or explain Christianity. Cyprian's apologies are efforts to increase an intelligent faith, an ardent correspondence with grace, or enduring courage in those who were already believers in Christ and perhaps soon to be called upon to confess and suffer for that faith. Two of these, addressed to Quirinus and Fortunatus respectively, are collections of Scripture texts with brief introductions and subject headings, each of which forms a skeleton from which an excellent apology might well have been written. Of the other three, the longest and latest is an open letter addressed to a certain Demetrianus, a pagan official who was making himself especially odious by his loud-voiced accusations against the Christians as the cause of the pestilence and kindred calamities from which the country was suffering; the shortest and earliest, whose authenticity has long been questioned because of the careless unevenness of its style, purports to prove the vanity of idols, the unity of God, and the divinity of Christ. The other is a dissertation on divine grace addressed to one Donatus. Because these three differ somewhat from all the other works, and indeed from each other, they are here treated separately. Since the two collections of texts were used by St. Cyprian himself for convenient reference in his frequent quotations from the Sacred Writings, many of the passages, including those containing nature allusions with which the Scriptures are filled, are repeated elsewhere and will appear in context; from these two only what nature is mentioned in the brief introductions and in the conclusion of the *Ad Fortunatum* which are Cyprian's own words will be presented, therefore, after the other three apologies instead of in their chronological order.

True to the rhetorical practice of his school, Cyprian's introductory and concluding paragraphs are carefully wrought; purpose and plan in the one, summary and eloquent peroration in the other. As these usually contain some allusion to nature, metaphorical if not real, a presentation of them in their entirety or almost so in the translations which follow, leaves only a very brief introduction necessary for adequate understanding of the nature of each work as it is investigated.

1. AD DONATUM

The *Ad Donatum* is considered first because it has traditionally been thought of as the earliest of Cyprian's writings after his baptism—it is indeed so indicated in the *Vita* by his deacon Pontius.[a] The very fact that the Scriptures are not quoted in the Bishop's characteristic fashion seemed to substantiate the belief that it was early. Whether or not there is any truth in Watson's ingenious hypothesis that it was motivated rather by the Bishop's desire to counterbalance the popular philosophical writings of Apuleius, so ornately written and dangerously attractive to partially convinced and half-bored Christians by reason of their ecstatic presentation of the pagan mysteries, there is undoubtedly similarity in the richly elaborated style, and both conclude with the picture of a soul radiant in an initiation—Apuleius' into the mysteries of Isis, Cyprian's into a new life of grace.[b] Bayard thinks that a desire to complete Minucius Felix' purely rational demonstration in favor of Christianity by the *Octavius,* and to express the ineffably happy change wrought in the soul by Baptism provides sufficient explanation.[c] Certainly the long experience of the one-time rhetor would have enabled him to adopt the more florid style at any time during his episcopate when the need arose for an antidote to pagan rhetoric. There is little question of any evolution of linguistic style during the ten years of St. Cyprian's episcopacy; that was completely formed before his conversion. What challenges our admiring reverence is the swift transformation of a noble soul which yielded itself unreservedly to the action of divine grace. The date of the composition, then, is of minor importance. Its character as one of the earliest predecessors of the *Confessions* of St. Augustine is of far greater moment.

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[a] Cf. *Vita* 7.

[b] Cf. Watson, pp. 199-200.

[c] Cf. Bayard, *Le latin de Saint Cyprien,* p. li.

Perhaps it was what it appears in some editions, the first and only unofficial letter in the large correspondence so successfully preserved for us. Perhaps it was written in the dialogue form, popular among the Romans from the days of Cicero and used with consummate art by Minucius Felix in the *Octavius* which Cyprian so evidently admired. Its scene also is laid during the autumn festival, during the advocate's respite from the noisy strife of the forum. The supposition that Cyprian had been an advocate as well as rhetor in his earlier days rests almost entirely on this passage and the comparatively rare legal terms with which almost any trained speaker or well educated man of affairs, at least in antiquity, might have been equally familiar. Even his daily reading of Tertullian, undoubtedly once a lawyer, might easily have resulted in the introduction of such legal terminology. If it were originally intended as a brief Christian *Tusculan Disputation,* the introduction and conclusion necessary to establish its character as a dialogue must have been dropped by subsequent copyists as non-essential or badly garbled, for it is unlikely that the obscure passage relegated by Hartel to the Appendix with other spurious works could be words put in the mouth of a well-educated man, a legal associate.[d] The thought expressed, however, is suitable enough. Donatus is supposed to assert the community of ideas and feelings and to remind Cyprian of a quondam promise. The latter at once recalls the promise and, having led his friend to a secluded viny bower at some distance from the noisy bustling of the busy household, he bursts forth into a fervent discussion of the grace of God.

With neither this preface nor a greeting, it becomes a treatise in the form of a monologue written during the autumn vintage festival, a few months after the author's baptism which had probably occurred on the Easter Eve of 246. In it Cyprian imagines his friend beside him in his favorite retreat; thence he leads him in spirit to a high mountain, there to gaze down upon the world involved in degrading sin and hopeless suffering. At this point he breaks out in praise of the gifts of life and light bestowed by the Holy Spirit at Baptism, and urges his friend to persevere with him in simple, devout obedience to the heavenly inspirations, thus to continue in the new found peace and joy of Christian life.

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[d] Cf. *ibid.*, pp. li, lii. Bayard here and Monceaux, p. 262, note 4, reject the suggestion of Goetz that the *Epistula Donati* forms the opening speech of a dialogue.

The sincerity of the convert's enthusiastic and eloquent confession of relief at his new freedom from the former thraldom to sin, and his joy in the serenity and peace which has flooded his soul is unquestionable whether it was written in the full flood of emotion or recalling these deep emotions later for the spiritual advantage of others, as St. Augustine did in writing his *Confessions*. Its style, however, is variously criticized as bombastic, verbose, affected, wanting in simplicity, abounding in the conceits and preciosity of the rhetors. St. Augustine himself, whose admiration and reverence for the saintly Bishop of Carthage is frequently displayed, in Book IV. 14 of his *De Doctrina Christiana* used three passages from St. Cyprian's treatises as models for Christian orators to illustrate the subdued, the moderate, and the grand style. In the same work, however, he discusses the style of this treatise at considerable length. Speaking of the prophet Jeremias he says:

> O eloquence, so much the more terrible as it is so unadorned; and as it is so genuine, so much the more powerful! . . . let righteousness, not evil, gain a willing hearing! But this undoubtedly would not be possible unless it possess charm.
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> But in a strong people, such as are spoken of by God —*I will praise thee in a strong people* (Ps. 34. 18)— that charm of style is not pleasing in which, though indeed falsehood is not involved, still, slight and unimportant truths are adorned with a foamy redundancy of expression, such as even great and enduring matters would not fittingly and worthily be adorned with. There is such an instance in one of the letters of the blessed Cyprian, which, I think, so fell out, or was thus done

> on purpose, in order that succeeding ages might know from what redundancy the soundness of the Christian teaching has recalled his style, and to what more dignified and reticent eloquence it has restricted him; which is such in his succeeding letters that he is safely admired, scrupulously copied, but with difficulty imitated. So he says in a certain passage: "Let us seek for that spot; the neighboring solitudes offer a retreat, where, as the wandering tendrils of the vine-shoots with overhanging interlacings creep along the trellis supports, the covering leaves have formed an arbor of vines." This is certainly expressed with marvellously flowing exuberance of language, but because of its excessive profuseness, it is not pleasing to the serious reader. However, those who admire this style think that of a certainty those who do not express themselves after this manner, but rather keep their eloquence within bounds, cannot thus be eloquent, and not that they avoid such language by preference. For this reason, this holy man shows that he *can* thus express himself, since he has done so in this place, but that he does not *wish* to do so, for nowhere does he do so afterward. (As translated by Sister Thérèse Sullivan.)[e]

To us it seems that addressed, as it was supposed to be, to a fellow rhetorician, a fellow neophyte, albeit probably not so fervent as he, and written in the first overflowing fervor of spiritual joy, when he was filled with zeal to enkindle in his friend his own flaming spirit, that the appeal was couched in the elegant phrases and fluent brilliance of their youthful training and forensic practice was entirely natural. What is worthy of note, however, is the fact that in this composition presumably the work of a layman, Cyprian resorts quite freely to allusions other than Scripture, and fails conspicuously to quote the Sacred Writings to which he has recourse so constantly when writing as priest or bishop.

Still more pertinent to our subject is the tenderness with which he paints the scene of their discourse—the viny cloister overlooking the fields and vineyards outspread below—revealing a man sensitive to nature's charms and alluring loveliness, keenly alive to the beauty of his gardens, although already aware of the higher call that will withdraw him from their clinging delights. Deeper significance is thus given to the simple statement that to relieve the boundless poverty of the Christian poor in Carthage he sold entire farms and did not hesitate to sacrifice even his ancestral home including the spacious and beautiful gardens. His friends, it seems, did indeed repurchase them and induce him to live there when he was in the city, but only the fact that persecution seemed to make it imprudent conquered his anxious desire to sell them again.[f] Here then we have perhaps the best evidence of St. Cyprian's personal feeling for nature and his attitude toward the external beauty and majesty of the world about him. Here too he appears in the best tradition of the Roman country gentleman with a love of nature, real though practical. Fertile fields, meadows, orchards and vineyards, tamed and mastered for the well-being of man continued to hold the Roman's deep affection. In the increasing refinement of the empire, however, a taste developed for the cultivated and artistically landscaped garden where nature's beauty was enhanced for the Roman by the very fact that nature had been subdued by the human hand and yielded to the mastery of his genius. Smooth and well-tended lawns, clipped trees and hedges, choice flowers and exotic plants, arbors and arcades skillfully placed to command the fairest view—this and not the dark and forbidding forest or snow-crowned mountains was beauty to Cyprian as to the Roman of his day.

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[e] Cf. Sister Thérèse Sullivan, pp. 111-113.

To Donatus

1. (Caecilius Cyprian to Donatus sends greeting.) You remind me well, dearest Donatus, for I both remember my promise and think that this is certainly the appropriate time for fulfilling it, when in the kindly vintage season, the mind relaxed chooses for its repose the annual and appointed respite of the fading year. The place also accords with the season, and the charming appearance of the gardens unites with the gentle breezes of a mild autumn in soothing and caressing the senses. Here it is pleasant to spend the day in discussions and to train the conscience of the heart to divine precepts by studying the (sacred) narratives. And lest a

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[f] Cf. *Vita* 3 and 15.

profane intruder interrupt our converse, or the immoderate clamor of a noisy household disturb it, let us seek that bower. The neighboring thickets afford a retreat; there, while trailing to and fro, the young shoots of the vines creep through supporting reeds with clinging tendrils and have made a viny portico, a leafy shelter. Here we easily entrust our earnest thoughts to each other's ears, and while we charm our eyes with the delightful view over trees and vines, at the same time hearing instructs and gazing feeds the mind; although now your sole pleasure, your sole interest is our discourse. Despising the charms of a pleasant scene, your eye is fixed on me. . . . 3.3 ff.

2. And yet, of what sort or what value is that which may come to your heart from me. The spare mediocrity of my barren nature produces a very meager harvest and is not weighed down with towering stalks for the abundance of fruitful soil. . . . 4.6 ff.

3. While I was lying in darkness and in gloomy night, and while I was tossing about on the waves of this boastful age, wavering and uncertain of my wandering steps, unaware of my real life, a stranger to truth and light, I thought it difficult indeed and especially hard for those manners of that time, that anyone could be born again, as the divine mercy promised to me for my salvation, and that, animated to a new life by the laving of the saving water, he might put off what he had been before. . . . 5.1 ff.

4. . . . So soon as the stain of my former life had been washed away by the aid of regenerating water, when light from above, serene and pure, had poured itself into my purified heart, when a second birth had formed in me a new man, and when I had drawn in the breath of heaven, forthwith in wondrous wise, doubtful things began to prove (clear); the dark became light. . . . 6.3 ff.

5. . . . The Spirit, flowing forth abundantly, is confined by no limits, nor restrained by enclosing barriers within fixed bounds; it flows perennially, it gushes forth copiously. Only let our hearts be athirst and be open. We draw from it the same measure of over-flowing grace as we bring thither receptive faith. . . . 7.8 ff.

Because we have not yet changed our body and our members, our carnal sight is still darkened by the cloud of the world. . . . 8.1 ff.

6. And in order that the tokens of divine favor may shine forth more brightly by the revelation of the truth, I will give you light

for your understanding. The darkness of sins being wiped away, I will reveal the shadows of the hidden world. For a little while, imagine yourself to be led up to the loftiest peak of a high mountain; thence gaze on the appearance of things lying below you; and as you turn your eyes to different scenes—yourself free from earthly contacts—behold the whirlwinds of a billowing world; at once you will pity the world, and having recollected yourself, being deeply grateful to God, you will rejoice with greater joy because you have escaped it. See the roads closed up by robbers, the seas beset by pirates, wars scattered everywhere with the bloody horror of camps. The whole earth is wet with mutual blood. . . . 8.9 ff.
7. If now you turn your eyes and countenance to the cities themselves, you find a concourse more melancholy than any solitude: the gladiatorial games. . . . 8.22 ff.
8. Turn thence your gaze toward the contagion of a different spectacle, no less deplorable. . . . In the theaters: they represent that Jupiter of theirs, supreme no more in power than in his vices, burning amid his very thunderbolts for his earthly loves, now gleaming white in the plumage of a swan, now flowing down in a golden shower, now leaping forth by means of ministering birds to snatch away young boys. 9.15 ff.
10.17 ff.
10. But now after highways beset by robbers, after manifold battles dispersed over the whole earth, after spectacles, either bloody or disgraceful . . . the forum perhaps may seem safe . . . thither turn your gaze. There you will find abominations more abundant from which you will avert your eyes with greater hatred. Although the laws have been engraved on the twelve tables and the statutes exhibited on bronze plaques . . . innocence is not retained even where it is defended. The madness of the disputants rages, and amid the togas peace is broken; the mad forum bellows with litigation. There too, is spear and sword and executioner, tearing claw, extending rack, consuming fire. . . . 11.11 ff.
11. . . . In power or authority which appears good: There is hidden the virus of alluring evils and an appearance of smiling voluptuousness, joyous indeed, but the deceiving charms of hidden calamity; just as some poison, its flavor medicated with sweetness mingled in its deadly juices with the cunning of deceit, seems to

be the drink which is usually taken; but when it has been drunk up, the evil swallowed assails one. You see that man, forsooth, who conspicuous in more brilliant attire, seems to himself to be gleaming in purple: with what baseness did he purchase the right that he should so gleam? . . . With thankless prayers was the popular breeze solicited. . . . 12.21 ff.

12. Those also whom you consider rich, adding parks to parks and ever extending farther their boundless and unlimited rural estates by shutting out the poor from their confines, who have vast weight of silver and gold and enormous wealth whether in heaped up piles or buried mass—those too, trembling even among their riches, does the solicitude of anxious thought disturb; . . . he sighs at his banquet though he drink from a jewel cup and although a soft couch buries his body, languid from feeding, in its deep embrace he lies sleepless on the down and does not know, poor wretch, that his are tortures in splendid guise, that he is held bound by his gold, that he is possessed rather than possessor of his riches—O detestable blindness of mind and profound murk of mad cupidity! 13.17 ff.

14. Accordingly the only peaceful and trustworthy tranquillity, the only solid, firm, and lasting security is for a man, withdrawn from these whirlwinds of a tempestuous world and secured at the anchoring place of a safe harbor, to lift his eyes from earth to heaven. . . . He can seek nothing now, desire nothing from the world, who is himself greater than the world. How stable, how unshakable is that protection, how heavenly that safeguard with its perennial blessing, to be released from the entangling snares of the world, to be cleansed from earthly defilement unto the light of eternal immortality! . . . 14.24 ff.

As the sun shines spontaneously, as the day gives light, as the fountain flows, the rain falls, so the heavenly Spirit infuses itself. After the soul, looking up to heaven, has recognized its Maker, higher than the sun, more sublime than all this earthly power, it begins to be that which it believes itself to be. 15.11 ff.

15. You then, whom the heavenly warfare has now signed for a spiritual camp, hold incorrupt, hold unimpaired the discipline of religious virtue. . . . Now speak with God, now let God speak with you. . . . No longer can there be poverty when once the

heavenly banquet has satisfied the heart. Then ceilings enriched with gold and a dwelling covered with mosaics of costly marble will be contemptible to you when you understand that it is you, rather, who are to be perfected, you yourself who are to be adorned, and that the dwelling in which God has dwelt as a temple and in which the Holy Ghost has begun to make His abode is of more importance than all others. Let us paint this house with the colors of innocence; let us illumine it with the light of justice; this will never fall into decay with the wear of age nor will it be defiled when the colors of its walls or its gold falls into disuse. Whatever is artificially beautified is perishable. . . . But this (temple of the Holy Spirit) remains in a beauty perpetually vivid, in spotless honor, in lasting splendor. . . . 15.15 ff.

16. . . . And since this is now the holiday rest and a time of leisure, whatever remains of the day—for the sun is already inclining towards evening—let us spend joyously, nor let even the hour of repast be free from heavenly grace. Let our sober meal resound with psalms; and as you have a retentive memory and musical voice, take up this office as is your custom. You will feast your dearest friends better if we have something spiritual to listen to, if religious charm allures our ears. 16.8 ff.

2. QUOD IDOLA DII NON SINT

Of all the works of St. Cyprian this has the least significance for our problem. But for completeness, it might have been omitted entirely. Not mentioned by Pontius nor alluded to by Cyprian himself, its authenticity was long disputed. Only recently has Koch finally established its position in the Cyprianic Corpus.[g] St. Jerome had indeed praised such a work for its erudition and wealth of powerful arguments.[h] St. Augustine, also, though giving no clear evidence of personal familiarity, is enthusiastic in his comments.[i] We might almost suppose that the work they laud so highly has been lost and that what remains were only the rough notes from which it was composed. Of his Christian literary predecessors, of the West at least, Cyprian long was thought to have known only Tertullian and Minucius Felix, besides the inspired writers. We have unlimited evidence of his admiring dependence on the former; only less frequent are the traces of the latter's influence—and this in expression as well as thought.

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[g] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen*, pp. 1-78.

[h] Cf. Jerome, *Ep. 70 ad Magnum 5.*

[i] Cf. Augustine, *De Unico Baptismo adv. Petil.* 4;
De Baptismo adv. Don. 44.

In all probability in his early study of Christianity, either as catechumen or neophyte, the ardent convert made a careful comparative study of the existing Latin apologies, and summed up the arguments for the lack of divinity in pagan deities, the supremacy of the one true God, and the fact that salvation comes to us only through Christ, His Son. This summary, in form and size a mere pamphlet, is made up largely of unacknowledged quotations long and short, often verbatim, loosely strung together, in excellent logical order, but with obvious and convincing conclusions sometimes left undrawn; it is utterly lacking in the literary finish which characterizes the other genuine works of Cyprian. The solution now accepted considers this pamphlet, then, as merely personal notes compiled to solidify the new convert's deep convictions. Written thus early before Cyprian's consecration, and never intended for publication, its existence naturally was quite unknown to Pontius. Enthusiastic but blundering admirers must have found these notes at some later date and published them with the unhappy result of burdening their hero with a charge of plagiarism—not nearly so serious a matter among the ancients, surely, but still requiring some plausible excuse.

Although obviously quite unoriginal, the apologetic character of the *Quod Idola Dii Non Sunt* is undeniable; its organization is logical and sound. Since utterly unfinished as a literary production it is not surprising that it lacks the customary rhetorical use of nature. For that very reason, however, it is worthy of inclusion in this study. The few allusions which do occur are in factual statements connected either with mythological characters or Christ's dominion over the elements, and even these prove to be almost verbatim quotations.

That Idols Are Not Gods

1. That they are not gods, whom the common people worship, is known from this. Once there were kings who because of their royal

memory began to be worshipped among their own people subsequently even in death. Thence temples were erected to them; thence to preserve the features of the dead by an image their likenesses were carved out; men both immolated victims and celebrated festive days in giving them honor. Thence to posterity those things became sacred which at first had been adopted merely as consolations. Let us see whether this is true also in individual cases.
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 20. 5.) 19.2 ff.

2. Melicertes and Leucothea fall headlong into the seas and presently become divinities of the sea; the Castors (Castor and his twin) by turns die that so they may live; Aesculapius, to rise to godhead, is struck by lightning; Hercules, to put off the man, is burned up by the flames of Oeta.[1] Apollo fed a flock for Admetus; Neptune erected the walls of Laomedon and the hapless builder did not receive wages for his labor.[2] The cave of Jupiter in Crete is visited and his sepulcher is shown, and it is clear that by him Saturn was put to flight; thence Latium received its name from his *latebra*—hiding places.[3]. . .
[1] Cf. Oct. 23. 7; [2] 24. 5; [3] 21. 8, 6.) 19.9 ff.

5. Kingdoms moreover do not rise by merit but are varied by chance. . . . 22.5

But not from holy religious practices nor from auspices nor auguries did the Roman realms increase. . . . Paulus had chickens that ate and yet he was slain at Cannae, Gaius Caesar scorned the auguries and auspices holding him back from sending ships over to Africa before winter: thereby the more easily did he both sail and conquer. (Cf. Oct. 26. 1-5.) 23.2 ff.

6. . . . There are unclean and wandering spirits who, after they have been plunged in earthly vices and have yielded up their celestial vigor by reason of the contagion of earth, cease not when ruined to ruin and when depraved to pour forth the error of their own depravity. (Cf. Oct. 26. 8.) 23.12 ff.

7. These evil spirits, then, lurk under the statues and consecrated images; with their breath they inspire the breasts of prophets, animate the fibers of the entrails, govern the flights of birds, rule the lots; . . . they produce diseases so as to force men to their worship; so that when glutted by the stench of the altars and

burning piles of sacrificial cattle, by loosing what they had bound they may seem to have wrought a cure.
(Cf. Oct. 27. 1,2, and also Tert. Apol. 23. 14.) 24.7 ff.

You may see them at our word and through our prayer to the hidden majesty, cut by lashes and scorched with fire . . . confessing whence they come and whence they depart, even while the very ones who worship them are listening.
(Cf. Oct. 27. 5-7, and also Apol. 23. 14, 16.) 25.5 ff.

8. Therefore the one lord of all is God, for that sublimity can have no compeer since it alone holds power. Let us gather even from earth an example of the divine empire. When did an alliance of royal power ever either begin with good faith or end without bloodshed? . . . You should not wonder at this in regard to man since in this all nature agrees. There is one king for bees and one leader in the flocks and one ruler in the herds. Far more is the Ruler of the world one, who orders all things whatsoever they are by a word, disposes them by wisdom, accomplishes them by His power. (Cf. Oct. 18. 7.) 25.14 ff.

10. But that Christ is and how through Him salvation has come to us, such is the plan, such the means. The Jews at first had grace from God. Thus were they formerly just, thus did their ancestors obey the ordinances of religion. . . . But subsequently becoming undisciplined, puffed up in the confidence of their fathers, when they despised the divine precepts they lost the grace given them. Now dispersed and straggling, they wander about, exiles from their own soil and clime, they are cast among the homes of strangers.
(Cf. Apol. 21. 4,5.) 27.6 ff.

11. God, moreover, had previously foretold that in the decline of the age and when the end of the world was already nigh at hand (from every race and people and place), would He gather unto Himself worshippers much more faithful, who should drink in favor from His divine gifts. . . . What man is, Christ willed to be, in order that man also might be what Christ is. (Cf. Apol. 6.)
28.1 ff.

12. . . . That the people of the Jews could not understand this, however, was the due reward of their crimes. . . .
(Cf. Apol. 21. 16.) 29.6

13. Therefore when Jesus Christ, according to what was foretold by prophets, by a word and the command of His voice drove out devils from men, renewed the strength of the paralytics, cleansed the leprous, to the blind gave sight, to the lame power to walk, made the dead live again, compelled the elements to minister unto Him, the winds to serve, the seas to obey, hell to submit, the Jews who had believed Him only man from the lowliness of his flesh and body, considered Him a magician from the authority of His power. . . . (Cf. Apol. 21. 17.) 29.10 ff.

After Christ's passion, death, and resurrection:

14. . . . He appeared to His disciples just as He had been; He presented Himself to those who saw Him to be recognized by them; visible also to those associated with Him in the reality of His corporal substance, He delayed for forty days that they might be instructed by Him in the precepts of life, and that they might learn what they were to teach. Then was He lifted up into heaven as a cloud spread round about Him (Cf. Apol. 21. 23), that as victor He might bring to His Father man whom He loved, whom He put on, whom He protected from death, soon destined to come again from heaven for the punishment of the devil and for the judgment of the human race with the might of an avenger and the power of a judge; throughout the world then, the disciples scattered at the bidding of their Master and God to give His precepts unto salvation, to lead men from the error of darkness to the way of light, to give eyes to the blind and ignorant for the acknowledgment of the truth. (Cf. Apol. 21. 30.) 30.12 ff.

15. And lest their proof be less sound, and their confession of Christ delightful, they are tried by torments, by crosses, by many kinds of punishments. Pain, which is a test of truth, is applied that Christ, the Son of God, who is believed to have been given to men unto life may be preached not merely by the heralding of the voice but also by the testimony of suffering. Him, therefore, do we accompany; Him do we follow; Him do we have as the Guide of our journey, the Source of our light, the Author of our salvation, promising heaven and the Father to those who seek and believe. What Christ is, we Christians shall be if we have followed Christ. 31.9 ff.

3. AD DEMETRIANUM

Years later, the busy and harried Bishop took up his pen to refute the groundless charges of Demetrianus against his Christian people. As usual among the officials of pagan Rome, he had attributed all the scourges of disease and famine, of war and weather, to Christian infidelity to the gods of ancient Rome. Rich, vicious, a slave owner, a social leader and magistrate, his was a powerful influence if not an active role in the Decian persecution, one responsible for the appalling number of the lapsed. When the barbarians invaded Numidia, he had accused the Christians. During the deadly plague he had fled to a safe distance to hurl his charges at Cyprian and his faithful Christians who were toiling and dying to care for the victims and maintain discipline and sanity in a demoralized city.

When the plague began to subside the long-suffering Bishop penned a true apology for the religion of Christ and those who professed it. In no other work does Cyprian so powerfully display his satiric power; the gracious gentleman, usually benign and self-possessed, yields to the stirrings of righteous indignation. With studied calmness and ill-concealed contempt his pen, vitriolic for once, by dint of deftly chosen words and skillful indirection, leaves the obnoxious person in no doubt that he is being called a dog if not some less intelligent brute. Cyprian's refutation of the charge, however, sounds less realistic to modern ears. It is true, we are always looking back with nostalgic longing to the good old days, but science scarcely supports a statement that our ills are all due to the aging of the world and the heavy sentence of condemnation which it shares with all of us of growing old and going down to ruin and decay.

However faulty his science, he was quite right in insisting that God does withdraw His earthly blessings as a token of His displeasure at man's baseness and ingratitude. With discomfiting candor Cyprian describes the personal corruption of his opponent and the viciousness of his pagan contemporaries—he had been one of them himself and could speak with authority—proving that their sins, not the pure lives of Christians, were the cause of God's punishing blows. Applying Tertullian's compelling logic, he strikes at the unreasoning injustice of torturing a Christian who confessed his crime, if crime it was, to make him deny it, instead of the time-honored practice of torturing a criminal to make him confess. To the taunt that the God of the Christians either did not exist or was powerless to protect His own since they shared the temporal adversities with their pagan neighbors, he retorts with the paradoxical truth that though Christians suffer the same adversities they do not suffer the same, since they endure with strong patience and joyous hope. Thus while Paradise invites the Christians, the Last Judgment threatens the pagans with its frightful retribution.

At this thought all the anger seems to have died out in the charitable heart of the holy Bishop and he concludes with an offer to lead his tormentor into the right path where he might avoid the dreadful fate now awaiting him, and rejoice in eternity with those whom once he had persecuted. Unhappily for Demetrianus, he seems not to have accepted the proffered guidance.

Not only is this one of the most powerful and original of Cyprian's writings but it depends largely on nature to support its thesis. Lactantius seems to have had small justification for his criticism of it on the grounds that Demetrianus should have been refuted,

> not by the testimonies of Scripture which he considered a vain, fictitious fabrication, but by arguments and reason. For when he was dealing with a man ignorant of the truth, for some little time putting aside Sacred writings, he ought to have disposed him from the beginning as one wholly ignorant and showed him the principles of light little by little, lest being exposed to its full splendor he be utterly blinded. . . . Carried away by his marvelous knowledge of the divine letters so that he was content with them alone to establish the faith, (Cyprian) did not do this.[j]

On the contrary, this is precisely what Cyprian did. The arguments are based on the evidence of the world about him, and the Scriptures cited only where God's threats had already been fulfilled—not at all a vain argument in a superstitious world dominated by soothsayers and oracles. Here in miniature St. Augustine could find a suggestion for his *City of God.*

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[j] Cf. Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 5. 4.

To Demetrianus

1. Your barking and clamoring with sacrilegious mouth and impious words against the one true God, I had frequently passed over with contempt thinking it more right and good to scorn the ignorance of an erring man in silence, than by speaking, to provoke the frenzy of a madman. Nor was I doing this without the authority of divine instruction since it is written: . . . *Answer not a fool according to his folly lest thou be made like him* (Prov. 26.4), and we are also bidden to keep what is holy within our own knowledge and not expose it to be trodden by swine and dogs, the Lord thus speaking and saying: *Give not that which is holy to dogs; neither cast ye your pearls before swine, lest they trample them under their feet* (Matt. 7.6). For when you used to come to me, often with a desire of contradicting rather than a wish for learning, and shouting with noisy words, you preferred impudently to insist on your own views rather than patiently to listen to ours, it seemed senseless to contend with you; for it would be an easier and slighter matter to beat back the angry waves of a turbulent sea with shouts than to check your madness by treatises. Surely it would be vain and ineffectual labor to offer light to the blind, words to the deaf, wisdom to the brute, since neither can the brute understand nor the blind admit the light nor the deaf hear. 351.2 ff.

2. . . . However when you say that very many are complaining loudly and that to us it is imputed that wars arise more frequently, that pestilence, that famines rage, and that prolonged clear skies suspend the rain-storms and the showers, to be silent beyond this is not proper lest it be no longer a mark of modesty but of diffidence that we are silent, and while we scorn to refute false charges we may seem to acknowledge the crime. I reply therefore both to you, Demetrianus, and to the others as well whom you perchance have stirred up and made your numerous partisans by sowing hatred against us with your malicious words and by the budding forth of your own root and origin. . . . 352.7 ff.

3. You have said that through us have happened, and to us should be imputed all those things wherewith the world is now shaken and oppressed because your gods are not worshipped by us. Herein you who are ignorant of divine knowledge and a stranger to the truth ought in the first place to know this, that the world has

already grown old and does not stand in that strength in which it formerly stood nor does it exist with the same vigor and energy wherewith it formerly prevailed. Even though we ourselves were silent and produced no proofs from the Holy Scriptures and divine teachings, the world itself already declares and attests its own decline by the evidence of its tottering estate. In winter there is not such abundance of rain for nourishing the seeds, nor in summer the wonted heat for ripening the fruits of the earth. Neither are the spring times so delightful in temperature nor the autumn seasons so fruitful in the produce of the trees. Layers of marble are dug out in smaller quantity from the disembowelled and worn out mountains, the diminished wealth of silver and gold suggests that already the mines are exhausted, and the impoverished veins are shortened day by day. All is languishing and failing: in the fields the husbandman, on the sea the sailor, the soldier in the camp, integrity in the forum, justice in the court, in friendships concord, in the arts skill, in morals discipline. Think you that the substance of a thing that is growing old can continue to flourish as powerful as it once was when its youth was still new and vigorous? Of necessity must that grow less which is tending downward to its final ruin with its end already near. Thus the sun at its setting darts its rays with a less bright and fiery splendor; thus the moon, as her course declines, wanes with disappearing horns; and the tree which before had been green and fertile, as its branches grow sere, becomes at last barren and graceless with age; and the fountain which once gushed forth abundantly from overflowing veins, failing with age, barely trickles with scanty moisture. This is the sentence passed on the world; this is the law of God —that all things that have risen should fall, and those which have grown should become old, and the strong become weak, and the great become small, and when weakened and diminished, they should come to an end. 352.19 ff.

4. You attribute it to the Christians that all things are decaying as the world is growing old. . . . Thus at its very beginning birth hastens toward its close; thus whatever is now being born degenerates with the old age of the world itself, so that no one should wonder that things in the world have begun to fail one by one when the whole world itself is already in the course of failing and near its end. 353.20 ff.

5. That wars follow each other more frequently, that sterility and famine accumulate anxiety, that health is broken by raging ills, that the human race is wasted by the ravages of pestilence, know that this too has been predicted. . . . For these things happen not as your false complaints and ignorant unawareness of the truth asserts and proclaims, because your gods are not worshipped by us, but because God is not worshipped by you. . . . 354.8

6. Hear Him, in fine speaking Himself, instructing us with His own divine voice and warning us: *Thou shalt adore the Lord thy God, and shalt serve him only* (Deut. 6. 13), and again: *Go not after strange gods to serve them, and adore them not: nor provoke me by the works of your hands to destroy you* (Cf. Jer. 25. 6). The prophet likewise, filled with the Holy Spirit attests and declares the wrath of God saying: *Thus saith the Lord almighty: because my house is desolate, and you make haste every man to his own house, therefore the heavens shall refrain from dew and the earth shall withhold her fruits and I will bring a sword upon the earth, and upon the corn and upon the wine, and upon the oil and upon men and upon cattle and upon all the labors of their hands.* (Cf. Agg. 1. 9-11.) Again another prophet repeats and says: *And I will cause it to rain upon one city, and upon another city I will cause it not to rain: one piece shall be rained upon: and the piece whereupon I send not rain, shall wither. And two and three cities shall come to one city to drink water, and shall not be filled: and yet you return not to me, saith the Lord* (Cf. Amos 4. 7,8).
354.25 ff.

7. Behold the Lord is indignant and angry, and threatens because you turn not unto Him; and you wonder or complain in this obstinacy and contempt of yours, if scanty rain descends upon you, if the land is unsightly with the moldering of dust, if the barren glebe hardly yields jejune and pallid herbage, if the slashing hail weakens the vines, if the destroying whirlwind lops off the olive, if drought stays the fountain, a pestilent breeze corrupts the air, morbid disease consumes mankind; whereas all these things come because of the sins which provoke them and God is the more angered when such and so great evils avail nothing. . . .
355.20 ff.

8. You complain that now plenteous fountains, healthful breezes,

frequent showers, and fertile earth afford you less service; that the elements do not as they were wont subserve your interests and pleasures. For you are subject to a God through whom all things are subject to you. You are a servant to Him at whose nod the whole world renders service to you. You exact submission from your slave and, though a man, you compel another man to obey and submit to you. . . . And do you not acknowledge the Lord your God when you yourself are thus exercising lordship?
356.11 ff.

9. Deservedly therefore in the plagues which occur, the scourges and stripes of God are not wanting. Since they avail nothing in this matter and do not convert men to God by such fear of disaster, there remains hereafter the eternal prison, and the ceaseless flame, and the everlasting penalty; and there the groaning of the suppliants will not be heard, because here the terror of an indignant God was not heeded who exclaims and says through His prophet: *Hear the word of the Lord, ye children of Israel, for the Lord shall enter into judgment with the inhabitants of the land: for there is no mercy, and there is no truth, and there is no knowledge of God in the land. Cursing, and lying, and killing, and theft, and adultery have been poured forth, and mingled blood with blood. Therefore shall the land mourn with every one that dwelleth therein, with the beasts of the field, with the creeping things of the earth, with the fowls of the air: and the fishes of the sea shall languish so that no one may judge, no one rebuke* (Cf. Osee 4. 1-4).

10. . . . You complain of barrenness and famine as though drought caused greater famine than rapacity, as though the burning heat of want does not flame more fiercely from their snatching at the increase of the year's produce and heaping up of the costs. You complain that the sky is closed to showers when the granaries are thus closed on the earth. You complain that less is produced as though what has been produced is tendered to the needy. . . .
358.7 ff.

11. . . . In robbers there is still some shame for their crimes; they love inaccessible ravines and deserted solitudes, and there wrong is done but in such a way that the crime of the wrong doers is veiled by shadows and night. Avarice rages openly, and secure by its very boldness, in the light of the forum exposes publicly the weapons of its ruthless cupidity. . . . 358.25 ff.

12. . . . It is a small matter that your life is stained by a variety of flagrant vices, by the iniquity of deadly crimes, by a compendium of bloody deeds of rapine; that the true religion is subverted by false superstitions, that God is universally neither sought nor feared. . . . You neither worship God nor in any wise permit Him to be worshipped, and while others who venerate not only those foolish idols and images made by the hand of man but also certain portents and monsters as well, are pleasing to you, the worshipper of God is alone displeasing. The charred remains of victims and piles of cattle are smoking everywhere in your temples, and God's altars are either nowhere or are concealed. Crocodiles and dogheaded apes (Cf. Tert. Apol. 6) and stones and serpents are worshipped, and God alone in the lands is either not worshipped, or not worshipped with impunity. The innocent, the just, the dear to God, you deprive of their home, you despoil of their patrimony, you load with chains, you inclose in prison, you punish with wild beasts, with sword, with flames. . . . 359.18 ff.

15. . . . If you will even believe yourself, he who has now possessed your breast, who has now blinded your mind with the night of ignorance will speak concerning yourself in your own hearing. . . . 361.23 ff.

16. What sloth of mind is it then, nay what blind and stupid madness of fools not to come to the light from darkness, and though bound with the chains of death eternal to be unwilling to embrace the hope of immortality. . . . 362.7 ff.

Why humiliate yourself and bow down before false gods, why bend your captive body before foolish images and earthen figures? God made you upright and while other animals are prone and depressed in posture, inclining toward the earth, your stature is erect and your countenance uplifted to heaven and to God above. Thither gaze, thither raise your eyes, seek God in the highest. That you may be free from the things below, lift your anxious heart to high and heavenly things. Why prostrate yourself unto the ruin of death with the serpent whom you worship? 362.14 ff.

. . . Abandon the idols which human error has invented. Be converted to God. . . . Believe in Christ whom the Father has sent to give us life, and to restore us. Cease injuring by your persecutions the servants of God and of Christ whom the divine vengeance defends when they are injured. 362.25 ff.

18. Let no one think that the Christians are not avenged by these things which are happening because they also seem to be straitened by the onslaught of misfortunes. From the adversities of the world does he suffer punishment for whom all happiness and glory exists in the world. He grieves and weeps if it is ill with him in this world for whom it cannot be well hereafter, and all the fruit of whose living is taken here, all whose consolation is ended here. . . . 363.20 ff.

19. With you there is impatience, always clamorous and complaining; with us a strong and religious patience, quiet always and always grateful toward God; nor does it claim for itself anything joyous and prosperous here, but meek and gentle and steadfast against all the gales of this turbulent world, it awaits the time of divine promise. . . . 364.11 ff.

20. There thrives among us the strength of hope, the firmness of faith; and amid the very ruins of a collapsing world, there is a mind erect and virtue unmoved and patience never unhappy, and a soul always secure in its God, as the Holy Spirit speaks and exhorts through the prophet, strengthening the firmness of our hope and faith by a heavenly utterance: *The fig tree,* says he, *shall not blossom: and there shall be no spring in the vines. The labour of the olive tree shall fail: and the fields shall yield no food: the sheep shall want for fodder, and there shall be no herd in the stalls. But I will rejoice in the Lord: and I will joy in God my savior.* (Cf. Hab. 3. 17,18.) He says that the man of God and the worshipper of God, relying on the truth of his hope and founded on the steadfastness of his faith, is not moved by the assaults of this world and life. Though the vine should fail and the olive deceive and the field grow parched languishing with its herbage dying from drought, what is this to the Christians, what to the servants of God whom paradise invites, whom all the grace and the abundance of the heavenly kingdom awaits? . . . For having put off our earthly birth we have been created anew and reborn by the Spirit, and we live no longer to the world but to God; and not until we come to God shall we receive the rewards and promises of God. And yet for repulsing our enemies, and for obtaining showers of rain and for either removing or tempering adversity, we entreat and ever pour forth

our petitions and, propitiating and appeasing God for your peace and salvation by day and by night, constantly and earnestly do we pray. 365.3 ff.

22. . . . But beyond is the day of judgment which Holy Scripture foretells saying: *Howl ye, for the day of the Lord is near: and it shall come as a destruction from God. For behold, the day of the Lord is come, of incurable wrath, and anger, to lay the whole earth desolate, and to destroy the sinners out of it* (Isa. 13. 6,9). And again: *Behold the day cometh kindled as a furnace: and all the aliens and all that do wickedly shall be stubble and the day that cometh shall set them on fire saith the Lord* (Mal. 4. 1). The Lord prophesies that the aliens shall be burnt and consumed. . . . For only those can escape who are reborn and signed with the sign of Christ. . . . *And the blood shall be unto you for a sign in the houses where you shall be: and I shall see the blood, and shall protect you: and the plague of destruction shall not be upon you, when I shall strike the land of Egypt* (Ex. 12. 13). What then preceded in image by the slaying of the lamb is fulfilled in Christ by the truth which followed afterward. As there when Egypt was smitten the Jewish people could escape only by the blood and sign of the lamb, so also when the world begins to be devastated and smitten whoever is found in the blood and sign of Christ alone escapes. 366.13 ff.

23. Have regard, therefore, while there is time for the true and eternal salvation, and since the end of the world is already near, turn your minds unto God in fear of God. Let not this impotent and vain domination over the just and the meek delight you in this world, when even in the field the cockle and weeds have dominion among cultivated and fertile corn. . . . Believe Him who will give to those who believe, the reward of eternal life. Believe Him who will call down on those who believe not, eternal punishments in the fires of hell. 367.21 ff.

24. . . . Ever blazing will Gehenna burn the condemned, and a punishment devouring with living flames. . . . *Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be quenched: and they shall be a loathsome sight to all flesh* (Isa. 66. 24), and looking upon the joy of the just they shall lament: *Therefore we have erred from the way of truth, and the light of justice hath not shined unto us, and the*

sun of understanding hath not risen upon us. We wearied ourselves in the way of iniquity and destruction, and have walked through hard ways, but the way of the Lord we have not known. What hath pride profited us? or what advantage hath the boasting of riches brought us? All those things are passed away like a shadow (Wisd. 5. 6-9). Then there will be pain of punishment without the fruit of penance. . . . 368.16 ff.

25. For security and life, therefore, provide while you may. We offer you the saving aid of our mind and counsel. And because we are not permitted to hate, and thus we please God the more when we return no evil in return for evil, we urge you while there is still opportunity, while something of life still remains, to make satisfaction to God and to emerge from the depths of murky superstition into the bright light of the true religion. . . . Believe and live, and you who have persecuted us in time, rejoice with us in eternity. 369.20 ff.

26. This grace Christ imparts . . . by reconciling man to God the Father . . . by giving life to mortal man by a heavenly regeneration. . . . He opens to us the way of life, He restores us to paradise, He leads us to the kingdom of heaven. 370.15 ff.

4. AD QUIRINUM

Testimoniorum Libri Tres

Shortly after Cyprian became a priest or more probably a bishop, sometime between his Baptism in 246 and the opening of the persecution in 250, after he had been devoting himself so tirelessly to the study of the Holy Scriptures, he dedicated the *Testimonia* in two books, later increased by a third, to a certain Quirinus whom he addressed as son and who while perhaps still a neophyte desired a sort of manual of Christian doctrine. This Quirinus may possibly be identified with the rich and charitable gentleman who later contributed so generously to the relief of the Numidian confessors in the mines. The *Testimonia* are a compendium of Scripture texts gathered under separate heads. Book I, in twenty-four sections, demonstrates the failure of the Jews to correspond to God's grace, and the call of the Gentiles whose faith would merit God's protection. Book II, in thirty sections, proves the divinity and mission of Christ. These two books in outline constitute the basis of a perfect Christian apology. Book III, added later, is a summary in one hundred and twenty sections of the moral and disciplinary duties of a Christian.

The tremendous and enduring influence of these books on the preaching and teaching of the Church for centuries cannot be exaggerated. These Scripture texts were constantly quoted because of their ready and convenient arrangement; consequently the nature elements which pervade these sacred writings came ever more naturally to the lips and minds of men—but it would be impractical to include them all here. They will appear when Cyprian himself quotes them elsewhere, as he so frequently does.

To Quirinus

Three Books of Testimonies

Cyprian to my son Quirinus, greeting.

I needs must obey your spiritual desire, dearest son, when you request with most earnest petition those divine teachings by which the Lord has deigned to teach and instruct us through the Holy Scriptures, so that, led away from the darkness of error and illumined by His pure and shining light, we may keep the way of life through the saving sacraments. . . . These things while you read them will meanwhile avail to form the first outlines of faith. More strength will be given you; the wisdom of the heart will be more and more employed as you scrutinize the Scriptures old and new more fully, and read through all the volumes of these spiritual books. For as yet we have drawn from the divine fountains only a small measure which we would send you. You will be able to drink more plentifully and satisfy yourself more abundantly if you also draw near those same fountains of divine fullness to drink alike with us. I bid you, dearest son, always farewell. 35.1 ff.

5. AD FORTUNATUM

When another persecution was threatening, a certain Fortunatus, perhaps Bishop of Thuccabori, requested of St. Cyprian exhortations to strengthen the Christians as soldiers, for the coming strife.

The plan adopted by Cyprian in his compliance with the request is similar to that of the *Testimonia.* There is, however, somewhat more of his own thought interpolated in the Scripture texts gathered under each of twelve headings. The introduction is noteworthy for its unusual metaphor of the wool and purple of the Lamb, sent for a spiritual cloak of the recipient's own making. The spirited peroration also is in the Bishop's best style, filled with striking antitheses. Such an apology for martyrdom, or the baptism of blood, could draw on no source save that of the Scriptures; and so, apart from them, the use of nature could not be expected.

The persecution which occasioned this apology is nowhere clearly indicated. It has been assigned to the early part of the Decian and also to the Valerian about Autumn in 257, but Koch dates it with some assurance before the persecution of Gallus in the Spring of 253.[k]

To Fortunatus

Exhortation to Martyrdom

1. You have desired, dearest Fortunatus, that since the burden of tribulations and persecutions weighs upon us, and since at the end and the consummation of the world the hostile time of antichrist is already approaching, I should gather the exhortations from the divine Scriptures for preparing and strengthening the minds of the brethren, and thus to inspirit the soldiers of Christ for the spiritual and heavenly combat. A request so necessary as yours must needs be obeyed, insofar as my meager powers with the aid of divine inspiration suffice to set forth as it were arms and defenses from the Lord's precepts for our brethren who are to fight. For it is little enough that we rouse the people of God with the trumpet of our voice if we do not strengthen the faith of believers as well as their courage, dedicated and devoted to God, by means of divine reading. 317.2 ff.

3. That I might not extend my words too far, dearest brother, and weary the hearer or reader by the abundance of a diffuse style

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[k] Cf. Koch, *op. cit.,* pp. 149-182.

I have made a compendium . . . subjoining passages from the Lord's words to strengthen what I had proposed by the authority of the divine word, so that I may seem not so much to have sent you my treatise as to have furnished the material for making treatises. This method avails each individual for use with greater advantage. For if I were to give you a garment already finished and made, the garment would be mine which another was wearing; and perhaps, being made for another, he might find it less suitable for his own stature and frame. Now, however, I have sent you the very wool and purple from the Lamb by whom we have been redeemed and made to live again; when you have received this, you will make a tunic for yourself according to your own desire and you will rejoice in it the more, as in your own personal and proper garb, and you will also show to others what I have sent that they may complete it also in accord with their own thought, and having covered their old nakedness, they may all wear the garments of Christ robed in sanctification of heavenly grace. 318.7 ff.

4. . . . The divine precepts themselves must be offered as arms to the fighters. Let those be the stirring notes of the military trumpet, those the signal blast for the fighters. Thence let the ears be stirred; thence let their minds be instructed; thence let the powers of mind and body be strengthened for endurance of suffering. . . . In the baptism of water remission of sin is received; in that of blood, a crown of virtues. . . . 318.28 ff.

13. . . . If to the soldiers of this world it is glorious to return to their country in triumph, having conquered the enemy, how much better and greater glory is it to return to paradise triumphant, having conquered the devil? . . . In persecutions, the earth is closed off but heaven is open; antichrist threatens but Christ protects; death is brought but immortality follows; the world is snatched from the slain but paradise is revealed to the restored; temporal life is extinguished but eternity is offered in exchange. . . . Swiftly you are withdrawn from earth to repose in the heavenly kingdoms; . . . without loss of time but with God as your Judge, the reward is rendered; in persecution, conflict; in peace, a good conscience is crowned. 346.14 ff.

B. COMMENTARY

INORGANIC NATURE

The Heavens and Heavenly Bodies

Sky or Heaven; Sun and Moon; Day and Night; Light and Darkness

To St. Cyprian the Christian, as well as to his pagan contemporaries, and indeed to the heathens of every age, the sun is a beneficent source of life and light and all the fruitfulness of the earth. It represents a benign power communicating the supremely necessary warmth and brightness which foster life and growth and all activity. To the ancient world, in fact almost until the past century with its conquest of gas and electricity, sunset and nightfall brought a cessation of most occupations and pleasures except those about the family fireside. For military campaigning, for travel, for labor in the fields, for spectacles of the theater and the circus, the light of day was almost indispensable. In the court and homes of wealth, it is true, elaborate entertainments and gay banquetings defied the outer darkness, but for the modest homestead, oil lamps or torches lent but feeble light. It is not surprising, then, that men worshipped the sun which dominated the heavens, and that the Christian as the Jew before him, symbolized God, the all powerful Creator, the all good and all wise Protector, by the sun and the light of day.

Thus, it is but natural that St. Cyprian gives first place to the sun in the extended passages involving several phases of nature. The sky or the heavens by contrast are but a background for the glory of the sun beyond which dwells the Creator. To it man turns his gaze[1] as did the apostles after Christ ascended thence enveloped by a cloud, and from the heavens is He to come again.[2] In a phrase where the *Idola,* imitating Tertullian, says that the Jews as exiles from their own soil and sky are cast hither and thither on the

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AD DONATUM

[1] 14. 14.26 ad *caelum* oculos tollit a terris . . .

IDOLA

[2] 14. 31. 2 tunc in *caelum* circumfusa nube sublatus est (Christus) . . .
iam uenturus e *caelo*

hospitality of strangers,[3] *caeli* implies their region or clime. The prophets threatening God's punishments warn men that the sky will refrain from dew,[4] and that the earth will mourn with the birds of the sky.[5] Man unlike animals lifts his countenance to the sky.[6]

The word day alone is used in referring to the autumn holiday pleasantly spent in converse,[7] but elsewhere it indicates the light of day. In a beautiful simile the downpouring of the Holy Spirit is compared to the spontaneous bounty of the universe for the sun freely sheds its rays, the day gives light, the spring yields its waters, the rain its showers, and when the soul gazing up to heaven has learned to recognize its Creator it begins to be higher than the sun, loftier than all earthly power.[8] There is no actual description of the sun itself. Toward evening it descends[9] and as it sets, darts its rays with less brilliant and fiery splendor. The clearer air, briefer sunset and swifter nightfall of his southern land may have lacked some of the gorgeous shifting hues of our northern sky, but only this once does Cyprian ever refer to the radiant glory of his sunset sky. Once also in these works is the moon mentioned, its horns growing ever thinner as it wanes.[10]

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[3] 10. 27.15 (Iudaii) soli et *caeli* sui profugi
per hospitia aliena iactantur (Cf. Tert. Apol. 21. 5).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[4] 6.355. 9 *abstinebit caelum a rore* (Cf. Agg. 1. 10).

[5] 9.357. 8 *terra lugebit . . . cum uolucribus caeli* (Cf. Osee 4. 3).

[6] 16.362.17 ad *caelum* . . . uultus erectus est.

AD DONATUM

[7] 1. 3. 6 locus etiam cum *die* conuenit . . .
hic iocundum sermonibus *diem ducere*

[8] 14. 15.11 ut sponte *sol radiat,*
dies luminat,
fons rigat,
imber inrorat,
ita se spiritus caelestis infundit.
postquam auctorem suum caelum intuens anima cognouit,
sole altior et hac omni terrena potestate sublimior
id esse incipit quod esse se credit.

[9] 16. 16. 8 quoniam feriata nunc quies ac tempus est otiosum,
quidquid *inclinante iam sole* in *uesperam dies* superest,
ducamus *hunc diem* laeti
nec sit uel hora conuiuii gratiae caelestis inmunis.

The real darkness and shades of night are sought only to cloak the crime of evildoers, while avarice safe in its very boldness plies its weapons in the sunlight of the forum.[11] It is real light, perhaps, though considered in a somewhat different sense which Cyprian tells Demetrianus it would be thankless labor to offer a blind man, since the blind cannot receive the light.[12]

Seasons

The seasons are mentioned but rarely. This, however, is not surprising in a country which lacks the marked changes familiar to peoples of a northern land of white snowbound winters, the new green of balmy blossoming springs, flowering and fruitful summers, and gorgeously tinted autumns. Yet the harvest season, the vintage time, was indeed a period of relaxation and gay festivity; the rainy winter season, comparatively bleak and colorless; spring, a time of renewed verdure; and summer with its heat, a season of swelling grain and ripening fruits. The opening scene in the *Ad Donatum* describes the welcomed respite brought by the vintage holiday, the charming appearance of the garden, and the gentle breezes of a soothing autumn day.[13] The *Idola* has a

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AD DEMETRIANUM

[10] 3.353.11 sic *sol in occasu suo radios*
minus *claro et igneo splendore iaculatur*
sic *declinante iam cursu exoletis cornibus*
luna tenuatur,

[11] 11.358.27 delinquentium facinus *tenebris* et *nocte* ueletur.
auaritia palam saeuit
et ipsa audacia sua tuta in fori *luce*
abruptae cupiditatis arma prostituit.

[12] 1.352. 2 labor inritus . . . offerre *lumen* caeco
cum nec . . . caecus *lumen* admittere (possit)

AD DONATUM

[13] 1. 3. 4 reddendi tempestiuum prorsus hoc tempus est,
quo *indulgente uindemia* solutus animus in quietem
sollemnes ac statas *anni fatigantis* indutias sortiatur.
. . .
ad lenes auras *blandientis autumni* hortorum facies amoena
consentit
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 2. 3, 4).

single quotation from Minucius Felix about Caesar's crossing the sea to Africa before the winter's cold contrary to the auguries.[14] In the *Ad Demetrianum,* as part of the proof that the ils of the world are due to its increasing age and not to the failure of the Christians to worship pagan divinities, the four seasons are briefly alluded to: the winter as supplying less rain to nourish the seeds; the summer, having less heat to ripen the grain; the spring climate, less pleasant; the autumn, less fruitful.[15] The use of neuter plural adjectives for nouns—*uerna* and *autumna* probably modifying *tempus* by implication—is in accord with Cyprian's practice.

Light and Darkness, Day and Night, Clouds and Mist Metaphorical

Light and darkness, and their natural causes are by no means new figures for good and evil, but Christianity provided Cyprian with numerous occasions for using this always effective metaphor. Before Baptism Cyprian describes himself as lying amid the shadows and dark night, a stranger to truth and light;[16] after its laver, light from above poured itself into his cleansed heart to brighten the darksome;[17] carnal vision is still blinded by the dark cloud of earth.[18] In order that when truth lies open more brightly, the proofs of the divine gift may grow clear, Cyprian proposes

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IDOLA

[14] 5. 23. 7 Gaius Caesar, ne ante *brumam* in Africam nauigia transmitteret,
auguriis et auspiciis retinentibus spreuit:
eo facilius et nauigauit et uicit (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 26. 4).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[15] 3.352.27 non *hieme* nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrium copia est,
non frugibus *aestate* torrendis solita flagrantia est
nec sic *uerna* de temperie sua laeta sunt
nec adeo arboreis fetibus *autumna* fecunda sunt.

AD DONATUM

[16] 3. 5. 1 Ego cum *in tenebris* atque *in nocte* caeca iacerem . . .
ueritatis ac *lucis* alienus

[17] 4. 6. 4 in expiatum pectus ac purum desuper se *lumen* infudit . . .
lucere tenebrosa

[18] 5. 8. 1 quod necdum corpus ac membra mutauimus,
adhuc carnalis aspectus *saeculi nube* caecatur.

to give Donatus light for his knowing, and having cleared away the mist of evils to roll away the shadows of the hidden world.[19] How heavenly a blessing it is to be cleansed from earthly soils unto the light of everlasting immortality![20] The house of the soul, illumined with the light of justice abides in everlasting splendor.[21]

In the *Idola* Christ is associated with the light: the Son of God is proclaimed by the prophets as the illuminator—the giver of light—and the guide of the human race;[22] He gave light to the blind;[23] at His bidding, the apostles go forth to lead men from the error of darkness to the way of light;[24] Christ do we hold as source of our light.[25] Demetrianus is warned against the evil spirit who has blinded his mind with the night of ignorance.[26] What blind and stupid madness of fools is it not to come out of the shadows unto the light?[27] In truly Christian charity Cyprian urges him to come forth from the depth of darksome superstition unto the white light of the true religion[28] lest one day he lament that the light of justice had not shined upon him.[29] In very similar words Cyprian assures Quirinus that of necessity he has acceded to his request for the Scripture texts by which, led from the shadows of error, and illumined by His pure and gleaming light, we may keep to the way of life by the saving sacraments.[30]

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[19] 6. 8. 9 Atque ut *inlustrius* ueritate patefacta diuini muneris indicia *clarescant,*
lucem tibi ad cognitionem dabo,
malorum caligine abstersa operti saeculi tenebras reuelabo

[20] 14. 15. 5 in *lucem immortalitatis aeternae* de terrena faece purgari.

[21] 15. 15.25 *luminemus luce iustitiae* (hanc domum). . . .
hoc manet . . . *splendore diuturno.*

IDOLA

[22] 11. 28. 6 filius Dei mittitur, qui per prophetas omnes retro
inluminator et deductor humani generis praedicatur.

[23] 13. 29.10 Christus Iesus . . . *inluminaret* caecos (Cf. Tert. Apol. 21. 17

[24] 14. 31. 7 ab errore *tenebrarum* ad *uiam lucis* adducere,

[25] 15. 31.14 hunc (Christum) habemus . . . *lucis principem*

AD DEMETRIANUM

[26] 15.361.25 mentem tuam *ignorantiae nocte* caecauit.

[27] 16.362. 7 quae desipientium caeca et stulta dementia (est)
ad *lucem* de *tenebris* non uenire?

[28] 25.369.24 ad uerae religionis *candidam lucem*
de profundo *tenebrosae superstitionis* emergere

[29] 24.369.10 *iustitiae lumen non luxit nobis* (Wisd. 5. 6)

To these uses of *lux* and *luceo, lumen, inlumino* and *inluminator, claresco* and *inlustrius* to suggest the brightness of truth, virtue, justice and immortality; *nox, tenebra* and *tenebrosus, caligo* and *nubes, caecus, caeco,* and *operior* for the darkness of evil, ignorance, error and superstition, we may add Vergil's poetic use of *lumina* for eyes: gladiatorial games are arranged so that blood may delight the lust of cruel eyes;[31] what evils would be revealed if one could expose hidden apartments to the cognizance of the eyes.[32] This transferred meaning, however, occurs rarely and has little importance in comparison with the spiritual significance so frequently given light and darkness.

Heaven and Heavenly, Earth and Earthly

A like contrast is constantly drawn between heaven and earth, things heavenly and earthly. Heavenly favor or the heavenly Spirit pours down into our souls, heavenly protection hovers over us; we serve in a heavenly camp and are fed with heavenly food; heavenly grace is not wanting even to the festive hour. In the *Octavius* 26. 8, Minucius Felix describes the unclean and wandering spirits whose heavenly vigor has been overlaid by earthly soils and lusts: *Spiritus sunt insinceri, vagi, a caelesti vigore terrenis labibus et cupiditatibus degravati,* a thought Cyprian expresses in the *Idola: a uigore caelesti terreno contagio recesserunt.* Again in the *Octavius* 32. 7, we read that man is deceived if he thinks that God is unaware of his deeds, for all things heavenly and earthly and those which are beyond the province of this world are full of God: *Erras, o homo, et falleris: unde enim deus longe est, cum omnia caelestia ter-*

AD QUIRINUM

[30] 35. 5 Obtemperandum fuit, fili carissime, desiderio tuo spiritali . . .
ut a *tenebris erroris* abducti
et *luce eius pura et candida luminati*
uiam uitae per salutaria sacramenta teneamus.

AD DONATUM

[31] 7. 8.24 libidinem *crudelium luminum* sanguis oblectet.

[32] 9. 10.24 O si et possis . . . ad conscientiam *luminum* penetralia occulta reserare:

renaque et quae extra istam orbis provinciam sunt, deo plena sint? The combined influence of such usage in Minucius Felix and the occasional occurrences in the New Testament writings seem to have outweighed the custom of the Old Testament use of the prepositional phrase and established the use of *caelestis* and *terrenus* or *saecularis* for Cyprian and subsequent Christian writers.

In the *Ad Demetrianum* we find also a heart lifted aloft to high and heavenly things, faith strengthened by a heavenly voice, the grace of a heavenly kingdom awaiting us, Christ giving life to mortals by a heavenly regeneration. At Fortunatus' request Cyprian inspirits the soldiers of Christ to heavenly combat; his army is stationed in a heavenly camp, robed in the holiness of heavenly grace; withdrawn at last from earth they are to rest in heavenly kingdoms.

Heaven, as *caelum,* occurs very rarely: the soul contemplates heaven, Christ promises heaven, man's countenance is turned up toward the sky, toward the Lord. When persecution closes the lands heaven is open. Once only the Scriptural plural appears, and that in reverse order—*caelorum regna. Caelitus,* a late if not original adverb, like *diuinitus* in composition, also occurs only once.

Terrenus is used for the man dominated by earthly desires, for earthly contacts, amours, soils, power, vices, contagion, flesh, and birth; *terrestris* for favors; *saecularis* for ignorance and labors. Only once is *terrenus* used for material earth when Cyprian accuses the pagans of bowing their servile bodies before gods fashioned from clay.

The earth whether expressed by *mundus, saeculum, orbis* or *terra* seems to be used indiscriminately for the place of our abode, and for the people or the spirit opposed to God and His teachings. In the *Ad Donatum, saeculum* is used where one is fluctuating on the sea of a boastful world; his carnal view is blinded by the cloud of the world; he pities the world, is freed from the gales of an unquiet world, desires nothing from the world being greater than the world. *Mundus* occurs where he is withdrawn from the baneful contacts of the world, views the storms of a billowing world, is released from the snares of an entangling world. In this, addressed to a Christian, *saeculum* appears six times; *mundus* three. In the passages of the *Ad Demetrianum* where the meaning seems to differ in no way, *saeculum* appears only five times and *mundus* ten—one might suppose that to the pagan, the latter may have held more significance, especially since the same proportion is found in the following passages where the real earth seems involved; yet the *Ad Fortunatum* in the passages cited here contains *mundus* four times and *saeculum* not at all, and this also is addressed to a Christian. No positive conclusions, therefore, can be drawn from this.[33]

The Four Elements

Earth and Earthly

Under the heading Earth, first of the four elements, the *Ad Donatum* shows hyperbole where the earth (*orbis*) is wet with mutual blood,[34] and the whole earth the scene of manifold battles.[35] In the *Idola* the disciples are dispersed over the earth[36] (*orbis* again), and quoting Tertullian, the Jews wander about exiled from their own soil and clime (*soli et caeli*).[37] In the *Ad Demetrianum* addressed to an educated gentleman of the world the burden of the Christian apology rests on a proof that the physical world was growing old and the consequent weakening and degeneration of all the physical forces was but natural, as are all the changes from boyhood to manhood, and thence into old age with its senile decay. Cyprian, as most Christians until a much later period, believed that the Lord's prediction of the end of the world was soon to be fulfilled. The failure of the crops, which was probably due rather to ravages of war and pestilence which had depleted the number of laborers and interfered with the cultivation of the soil, fertilization, irrigation, and harvesting, he attributed to the senescence of the earth. The diminishing power of the seasons to make their peculiar contributions to human life and happiness, the depreciation of the mines as their veins were exhausted, was no more to be attributed to the Christian's irreverence toward the pagan gods than the decreasing brilliance of the slanting rays of the sun, the tenuous horns of a waning moon, the sterile branches of an aging tree, the dwindling streams from a failing spring. All things by the laws of God and nature diminish and fail as time goes on. The earth is not exempt from this sentence. Furthermore, the omnipotent God had threatened the disobedient people with just such punishment as this. That it has come to pass is irrefutable evidence of the truth of the Sacred Word. It is folly for man to complain of the elements' failure to serve him who refuses to serve their Creator. It is folly, too, to complain of barrenness and hunger when human rapacity is greater source of famine than drought. The heavens are no more closed to rain than the storehouses of the hoarding rich to the needs of the poor—here he came closer to the truth.

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[33] Because of the great number of occurrences of these terms and the rather specialized interest attached to their use all the Latin excerpts from the three chapters which belong under this heading have been placed in an appendix.

AD DONATUM

[34] 6. 8.18 madet *orbis* mutuo sanguine

[35] 10. 11.11 Sed tibi . . . post dispersas *orbe toto* multiplices pugnas, . . .
forum fortasse uideatur immune

IDOLA

[36] 14. 31. 5 per *orbem* uero disciputi . . . diffusi praecepta in salutem dare

[37] 10. 27.14 (Iudaii) dispersi et palabundi uagantur,
soli et caeli sui profugi per hospitia aliena iactantur
(Cf. Tert. Apol. 21. 5).

In all of this, terms are general rather than specific. The striking quality of Cyprian's argument depends not on novelty, but on truth and simplicity. In few treatises, however, is there more masterly use of vocabulary and style. An examination of paragraph 3 alone shows the constant use of balance and rime, of contrast and harmony, of repetition and variety. Introducing the clauses we see twice *mundus,* twice *non,* twice *nec, minus, sic, et, haec* and four times *et;* at the close of the clauses *copia est* and *flagrantia est, laeta sunt* and *fecunda sunt, iaculatur* and *tenuatur, profluebat* and *distillat, data est* and *lex est*. In a series of five verbs: *occidant* and *senescant, minuantur* and *finiantur,* the intrusion of a first conjugation *infirmentur* is avoided by the chiastic arrangement in *et infirmentur fortia et magna minuantur* which also balances the long final member of the group and avoids the monotony resulting from five clauses of similar length.[38] In paragraph 7, a similar

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AD DEMETRIANUM

Proving that the earth is growing old:

[38] 3.352.20 *mundus* quatitur et urguetur . . .
scire debes *senuisse iam saeculum* . . .
mundus ipse iam loquitur
et occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur.

series of *si* clauses closing with *descendat, squaleat, producat, statuat* and *corrumpat* is varied by placing two first conjugation verbs *debilitet* and *detruncet* which would have spoiled the rime,

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non hieme nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrium copia est,
non frugibus aestate torrendis solita flagrantia est
nec sic uerna de temperie sua laeta sunt
nec adeo arboreis fetibus autumna fecunda sunt.
minus de ecfossis et fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum crustae,
minus argenti et auri opes suggerunt exhausta iam metalla
et pauperes uenae breuiantur in dies singulos. . . .
sic sol in occasu suo radios minus claro et igneo splendore iaculatur,
sic declinante iam cursu exoletis cornibus luna tenuatur,
et arbor quae fuerat ante uiridis et fertilis
arescentibus ramis fit postmodum sterilis, senectute deformis,
et fons qui exundantibus prius uenis largiter profluebat
senectute deficiens uix modico sudore destillat.
haec sententia mundo data est
haec Dei lex est
ut omnia orta occidant
et aucta senescant
et infirmentur fortia
et magna minuantur
et cum infirmata et deminuta fuerint finiantur.
4.353.20 Christianis inputas quod minuantur singula *mundo senescente.*

. . .

sic in ortu adhuc suo ad finem natiuitas properat,
sic quodcumque nunc nascitur *mundi ipsius senectute degenerat,*
ut nemo mirari debeat singula in *mundo* deficere coepisse,
cum ipse iam *mundus* totus in defectione sit et in fine.
6.355. 6 *haec dicit dominus omnipotens: eo quod domus mea deserta est,*
uos autem sectamini unusquisque in domum suam,
propterea abstinebit caelum a rore
et terra subtrahet procreationes suas,
et inducam gladium super terram
et super frumentum
et super uinum et super oleum
et super homines et super pecora
et super omnes labores manuum eorum
(Cf. Agg. 1. 9-11).

in the middle rather than at the close of perfectly balanced clauses.[39]

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[39] 7.355.20 Indignatur ecce Dominus et irascitur
et quod ad eum non conuertamini comminatur:
et tu miraris aut quereris in hac obstinatione et contemptu uestro,
si rara desuper pluuia descendat,
si *terra* situ pulueris squaleat,
si uix ieiunas et pallidas herbas *sterilis gleba* producat,
si uineam debilitet grando caedens,
si oleam detruncet turbo subuertens,
si fontem siccitas statuat,
aerem pestilens aura corrumpat,
8.356.11 Quereris quod minus nunc tibi uberes fontes et aurae salubres
et frequens pluuia et fertilis *terra* obsequium praebeant,
quod non ita utilitatibus tuis et uoluptatibus elementa deseruiant
9.357. 2 *audite sermonem Domini, filii Israel, quia iudicium est Domini aduersus incolas terrae,*
quod neque misericordia neque ueritas neque agnitio Dei sit super terram:
execratio et mendacium et caedes et furtum et adulterium diffusum est super terram, sanguinem sanguini supermiscent,
idcirco terra lugebit cum uniuersis incolis suis, cum bestiis agri,
cum serpentibus terrae, cum uolucribus caeli,
et deficient pisces maris, ut nemo iudicet, nemo reuincat (Cf. Osee 4. 1-4).
indignari se Deus dicit quod agnitio Dei non sit in *terris,*
10.358. 7 de sterilitate ac fame quereris,
quasi famem maiorem siccitas quam rapacitas faciat,
quasi non de captatis annonarum incrementis
et pretiorum cumulis flagrantius inopiae ardor excrescat:
quereris cludi imbribus caelum,
cum sic horrea cludantur in *terris:*
20.365. 3 inter ipsas *saeculi labentis ruinas* erecta mens est
et inmobilis uirtus
et numquam non laeta patientia
et de Deo suo semper anima secura,
sicut per prophetam Spiritus sanctus loquitur. . . .
ficus, inquit, *non adferet fructum*
et non erunt nascentia in uineis.

In paragraph 20 other examples of chiasmus, both short and long, are found in *Dei hominem et cultorem Dei* and *subnixum spei ueritate et fidei stabilitate fundatum;* in addition there are doubled synonyms in *mundi huius et saeculi;* anaphora in the repetition of introductory *et, quid,* and *quos;* rime in *fallat, decipiat, arescat, inuitat, exspectat* in which again the variety is furnished by the long and short lines.[40] It might be questioned whether all this is

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mentietur opus oliuae et campi non praestabunt cibum.
deficient a pabulo oues
et non erunt in praesepibus boues.
ego autem in Domino exultabo, gaudebo in Deo salutari meo.
(Cf. Hab. 3. 17,18).

[40] 20.365.12 Dei hominem et cultorem Dei
subnixum spei ueritate et fidei stabilitate fundatum
negat *mundi* huius et *saeculi* infestationibus commoueri.
uinea licet fallat
et olea decipiat
et herbis siccitate morientibus aestuans campus arescat,
quid hoc ad christianos,
quid ad Dei seruos quos paradisus inuitat,
quos gratia omnis et copia regni caelestis exspectat?

22.366.13 ceterum retro est iudicii dies quem scriptura sancta denuntiat dicens: . . .
ecce enim dies Domini uenit insanabilis indignationis et irae
ponere orbem terrae desertum et peccatores perdere ex eo (Cf. Isa. 13. 9).
et iterum:
ecce dies Domini uenit ardens uelut clibanus,
eruntque omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula,
et succendet illos adueniens dies, dicit Dominus
(Cf. Mal. 4. 1). . . .
quando *ad uastationem mundi* et interitum generis humani
angelos suos mittens grauius in ultimo comminatur. . . .
ut illic percussa Aegypto Iudaicus populus euadere
non nisi sanguine et signo agni potuit,
ita et cum uastari coeperit *mundus* et percuti
quisque in sanguine et signo Christi inuentus fuerit solus euadit

23.367.22 quia iam *mundi finis* in proximo est
ad Deum mentes uestras Dei timore conuertite.

connected with the use of nature. The answer is that Cyprian's style is as closely associated with his thought as was the rhetorician with the man. They are one. Whatever is distinctive in his use of nature lies in its beauty of expression alone.

Mountains, Cavern and Rock

To the Bishop of Carthage with his ever pressing urban problems, majestic and beautiful mountains clearly in view may have seemed remote. He has, indeed, in the *Ad Donatum* used the device of having his friend imagine himself led to the lofty peak of a towering mountain to view the face of the earth lying below him[41]—a device possibly suggested by the Scriptural narrative of Christ's temptation, although Cyprian certainly did not press the comparison to the point of thinking either of his friend as Christ, or of himself as the tempter—indeed his purpose is to induce him to renounce the world, not to choose it. In this he is in accord with the classical tradition, in which a mountain often serves as a vantage point from which to view the surrounding country. Also classical is his practical consideration of mountains as a source of marble, exhausted and spent though he and Demetrianus agreed they were around the Carthage of his day.[42] In the *Idola* Jupiter's cave, still visited in Crete, is mentioned as evidence of his human nature.[43]

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nec uos delectet *in saeculo* inter iustos et mites
inpotens ista et uana dominatio,
quando et in *agro* inter cultas et fertiles segetes
lolium et auena dominetur,

AD DONATUM

[41] 6. 8.11 paulisper te crede subduci *in montis ardui uerticem celsiorem,*
speculare inde rerum infra te iacentium facies

AD DEMETRIANUM

[42] 3.353. 2 minus de *ecfossis* et *fatigatis montibus* eruuntur *marmorum crustae*

IDOLA

[43] 2. 20. 3 *antrum* Iouis in Creta uisitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 21.8)

Metals: Gold and Silver, Precious Stones

Silver and gold suggest vanity and luxury as often as wealth. With purple, gold indicates power and position.[44] The graphic description of Jupiter, flowing down in a golden shower,[45] or agleam in the white plumage of a swan, proves not only the beauty of the Roman theatre in Carthage but Cyprian's personal familiarity with it, just as his picture of a luxurious home, its ceilings and walls embellished with marble and gold, argues the reality of his original wealth. Bronze is mentioned only in connection with the Twelve Tables of the Law in the forum.[46] The man of wealth with a great mass of silver and gold heaped up or buried deep in the ground is not free from torturing anxiety even though he may drink from a jewel goblet—literally, a gem—in the language of Vergil or Seneca; the wretch unknowingly is held bound by his gold and is possessed by his riches rather than in possession of them.[47] Men's dwellings with their ceilings gold-fretted and their walls faced with precious marble seem sordid, when compared with the soul, the temple in which the Holy Spirit dwells. This home will never grow unsightly because the gold is worn away.[48] Pearls, while not properly associated with the earth, are included here with precious stones but are mentioned only in Biblical context—not to be cast before swine.[49] Demetrianus is

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AD DONATUM

[44] 3. 5.13 qui pretiosa ueste conspicuus in *auro* atque in purpura fulsit,

[45] 8. 10.20 (exprimunt . . . Iouem) nunc *aureo* imbre defluere

[46] 10. 11.18 incisae sint licet leges duodecim tabulis
et publico *aere* praefixo iura proscripta sint:

[47] 12. 13.19 quibus *argenti* et *auri* maximum pondus et pecuniarum ingentium
uel exstructi aggeres uel defossae strues,
hos etiam inter diuitias suas trepidos
cogitationis incertae sollicitudo discruciat . . .
bibat licet *gemma* . . . nec intellegit miser . . .
auro se alligatum teneri et possideri
magis quam possidere diuitias

[48] 15. 15.21 iam tibi *auro* distincta laquearia
et *pretiosi marmoris crustis* uestita domicilia sordebunt . . .
non haec (domus) . . . *auro exolescente* foedabitur.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[49] 1.351.13 *neque miseritis margaritas uestras ante porcos* (Cf. Matt. 7. 6).

assured that it is not the fault of the Christians that the exhausted mines yield a diminishing store of silver and gold, and the impoverished veins grow shorter day by day.[50]

Ways and Desert Places

As part of the satirical picture of the world which Donatus is to view imaginatively from the vantage point of a high mountain, Cyprian points to the highways closed to travel by robbers;[51] though in comparison with these ambushed roads the forum might appear safe,[52] it too is the scene of strife and intrigue. The latter part of the *Idola* shows us the apostles at Christ's bidding leading men from the error of darkness into the way of light.[53] Christ then we accompany, Him do we follow, Him we have as guide for our journey[54]—metaphorical uses both. To Demetrianus robbers are represented as having at least a just consciousness of their misdeeds since they love out-of-the-way mountain gorges or pathless glens and solitary desert-wastes[55] where their daring is concealed, while the covetous ply their weapons openly. The Christian too confesses his faith and tears down the pagan gods openly, not in hidden or secret places;[56] why then torture him to force an admission of guilt? According to the Book of Wisdom, in the day of judgment those who have wronged the just shall admit they have strayed from the way of truth, having wearied themselves in the way of iniquity and perdition and walked through difficult desert places, not knowing the way of the Lord.[57] To save Demetrianus and his ilk from this fate, however, the Christian is ready to render good for evil and to point out to them the paths of salvation,[58] but Christ it is who must open to us all the path of life.[59] Although *via* is found seven times, three of these are Scriptural. In general Cyprian seems to have a strong liking for *iter*. *Auias fauces et desertas solitudines* illustrates the constant tendency to use pairs of words, often synonymous; of these the first is unusual and might be oxymoron. Two real though imagined roads in the *Ad Donatum,* two metaphorical in the *Idola,* and five in the *Ad Demetrianum* show this to be both a common and a favorite metaphor.

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[50] 3.353. 3 minus *argenti et auri* opes suggerunt *exhausta* iam *metalla* et *pauperes uenae* breuiantur in dies singulos.

AD DONATUM

[51] 6. 8.16 cerne tu *itinera* latronibus *clausa,*

[52] 10. 11.11 Sed tibi post *insidiosas uias* . . . forum fortasse uideatur immune,

IDOLA

[53] 14. 31. 7 ad *uiam lucis* adducere,

[54] 15. 31.14 hunc habemus *itineris* ducem,

AD DEMETRIANUM

[55] 11.358.26 *auias fauces* et *desertas solitudines* diligunt,

[56] 13.360.27 quid tormenta admoues confitenti et deos tuos non in *abditis et secretis locis* sed palam . . . destruenti

Water

To St. Cyprian, water seems ever symbolic, purifying, strengthening, vivifying. Before his Baptism he had doubted that a man could be so quickened to a new life by the laver of the water of salvation as to put off his old self,[60] but after the stain of his former life had been wiped away by the aid of the life-giving stream, into his cleansed heart the pure light from above infused itself.[61] Again he speaks to Donatus of the Spirit, flowing forth largely, restrained by no limits—here the metaphor seems to change momentarily from a swift-flowing stream to a coursing steed—it is not reined back within the fixed space of the goal posts. The figure shifts back again to the stream which flows on unceasingly, overflows abundantly if we but thirst and open our hearts. As we bring to it an unmeasured faith, we drink of its inundating grace.[62] Fortunatus is reminded that in the Baptism of water remission of sins is obtained; in that of blood, the crown of virtues.[63]

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[57] 24.369.10 *errauimus a uia peritatis, . . .*
lassati sumus iniquitatis uia et perditionis
et ambulauimus solitudines difficiles,
uiam autem Domini ignorauimus (Cf. Wisd. 5. 6).

[58] 25.369.27 odiis uestris beniuolentiam reddimus
et pro tormentis ac suppliciis quae nobis inferuntur
salutis itinera monstramus.

[59] 26.370.19 hic (Christus) nobis *uiam uitae* aperit,

AD DONATUM

[60] 3. 5. 6 in nouam uitam *lauacro aquae salutaris* animatus,

[61] 4. 6. 3 sed postquam *undae genetalis* auxilio superioris aeui labe detersa
in expiatum pectus ac purum desuper se lumen infudit,

Sea and Navigation

How far the sea had entered the personal experience of St. Cyprian is doubtful. He could not fail to see and hear it, although his journeyings were probably confined to the North African coasts. In these apologetic treatises the sea is used metaphorically except for an occasional reference in conventional terms. Cyprian depicts himself tossing on the briny billows of a boastful world;[64] Donatus is called upon to view the seas beset with pirates as one feature of the troubled world;[65] he is assured that there is but one firm security: to be riding at anchor in the port of salvation.[66] In the *Idola,* Leucothea casts herself into the sea with her son Melicertes, and thereafter they become divinities of the sea[67]—after the fashion of other human personages. The seas obey the command of Christ.[68] To the fury of Demetrianus Cyprian likens the lifted waves of a turbulent sea which could as easily be quelled with shouts as the former with argument.[69] Among the proofs of the deteriorating world he mentions the decreasing numbers of sailors on the sea,[70] and he quotes the prophecy of Osee that the fishes of the sea fail as a punishment to Israel.[71]

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[62] 5. 7. 8 *profluens* largiter spiritus nullis finibus premitur
nec coercentibus claustris
intra certa metarum spatia frenatur.
manat iugiter, *exuberat afluenter:*
nostrum tantum *sitiat* pectus et pateat,
quantum illuc fidei capacis adferimus,
tantum *gratiae inundantis haurimus.*

AD FORTUNATUM

[63] 4.319.10 in *aquae* baptismo accipitur peccatorum remissa,
in sanguinis corona uirtutum.

AD DONATUM

[64] 3. 5. 1 cumque in *salo* iactantis saeculi nutabundus
ac dubius uestigiis oberrantibus *fluctuarem*

[65] 6. 8.14 *fluctuantis mundi* turbines intuere: . . .
cerne tu . . . *maria* obsessa praedonibus,

[66] 14. 14.24 Una placida et fida tranquillitas, una solida et firma securitas,
si qui ab his inquietantis saeculi turbinibus extractus
salutaris portus statione fundetur:

IDOLA

[67] 2. 19. 9 Melicertes et Leucothea praecipitantur in *maria*
et fiunt postmodum *maris* numina,

[68] 13. 29.14 (cogeret sibi) *maria* oboedire,

Fountains or Springs

Springs, the source of bountiful streams and abundant harvests, are of special concern in such tropical lands as North Africa with their burning sun and often too rare rainfall. As one part of a simile in the *Ad Donatum*, the heavenly Spirit pours Himself into the soul freely as the fountain flows.[72] In the *Ad Demetrianum* the fountain which formerly flowed forth largely from gushing veins, now failing from old age, merely trickles with a scanty moisture;[73] drought stays the spring;[74] and less fruitful fountains now render service to ungodly men.[75] In the introduction to the *Ad Quirinum* the Scriptures are referred to figuratively as fountains from which Cyprian by compiling pertinent texts under various heads has filled a small measure to send in response to his friend's request. If Quirinus also will but draw near the same fountains of divine plenitude, he too will be able to drink more richly and be satisfied more abundantly.[76]

AD DEMETRIANUM

[69] 1.351.19 *turbulenti maris concitos fluctus* clamoribus retundere

[70] 3.353. 6 in *mari* nauta (decrescit ac deficit)

[71] 9.357.10 *et deficient pisces maris* (Cf. Osee 4. 3),

AD DONATUM

[72] 14. 15.11 ut sponte . . . *fons* rigat . . . ita se spiritus caelestis infundit.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[73] 3.353.15 *fons* qui exundantibus prius uenis largiter profluebat
senectute deficiens uix modico sudore destillat.

[74] 7.355.25 *fontem* siccitas statuat,

[75] 8.356.11 minus nunc tibi uberes *fontes* . . . obsequium praebeant,

AD QUIRINUM

[76] 36.19 nam nos nunc de *diuinis fontibus* inpleuimus modicum
quod tibi interim mitteremus.
bibere uberius et saturari copiosius poteris,
si tu quoque ad eosdem *diuinae plenitudinis fontes*
nobiscum pariter potaturus accesseris.

These brief instances show surprising variety in vocabulary: the verbs *rigat, profluebat, distillat;* the phrases *exundantibus uenis, modico sudore;* and modifiers *largiter* and *uberes, uberius* and *copiosius.*

Air

Winds, Thunder and Lightning

Air itself is mentioned rarely but vividly: in the *Ad Donatum* the gentle breezes of autumn,[77] and in a metaphorical sense the popular breeze which the ambitious politician has sought with thankless solicitation;[78] in the *Ad Demetrianum* the pestilential breeze which corrupts the air,[79] and the healthful breezes which no longer serve those who refuse reverence to the Creator.[80]

Cyprian and his people knew fierce gales: those that brought drought and pestilence in their wake, those that brought rain or hail. The hurricane or whirlwind serves often as a figure of stress or confusion. Donatus is told to gaze upon the whirlwinds of a billowing world,[81] himself withdrawn by grace from the winds of a restless world.[82] Nowhere in all his works does Cyprian speak of thunder and lightning as actually present; twice only does he refer to them: the stage Jupiter is represented glowing amid his very thunderbolts,[83] and the *Idola* quotes from the *Octavius* that Aesculapius is struck by lightning that he may rise as a god.[84] In quotation from the *Apologeticum* Christ compelled the elements

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AD DONATUM

[77] 1. 3. 7 et mulcendis sensibus ac fouendis *ad lenes auras* blandientis autumni hortorum facies amoena consentit:

[78] 11. 13.14 inanibus uotis *popularis aura* quaesita est.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[79] 7.355.26 *aerem* pestilens *aura* corrumpat,

[80] 8.356.11 minus nunc tibi . . . *aurae* salubres . . . obsequium praebeant,

AD DONATUM

[81] 6. 8.14 fluctuantis mundi *turbines* intuere:

[82] 14. 14.25 ab his inquietantis saeculi *turbinibus* extractus

[83] 8. 10.18 (exprimunt) Iouem . . . cum ipsis suis *fulminibus ardentem,*

IDOLA

[84] 2. 19.11 Aesculapius ut in deum surgat, *fulminatur* (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 23. 7).

to minister to Him, the winds to serve Him.[85] Demetrianus is not to wonder that the devastating hurricane slashes down the olive tree[86]—here the gale is a reality. Again in an oft used metaphor a brave and religious patience, mild and gentle, yet steadfast against all the whirlwinds of the billowing world, awaits the time of divine promise.[87]

Rain, Clouds, Fog or Mist, Dew and Hail

Like springs abundant rain is a blessed promise of fruitfulness. With the sun, the day, and the fountain its spontaneous shower is likened in the *Ad Donatum* to the infusion of the Holy Spirit. The stage Jupiter flowing down in a golden shower has a very different significance.[88] In the *Ad Demetrianum* the Christians are vindicated from blame because prolonged clear skies withhold the rains and showers,[89] and because the winter no longer supplies the usual abundance of rain to nourish the seeds.[90] The prophet Amos is quoted voicing God's threat to send or withhold rain as a reward or punishment to cities of Israel,[91] yet the pagan wonders that the frequent showers render him grudging service,[92] that the sky is closed to showers when the granaries are closed to the hungry poor.[93] While his Christian fellow citizens with joyful resignation suffer the same temporal vicissitudes, yet they may pray for rain as for other temporal blessings.[94] *Imber* and *pluuia* are used indiscriminately.

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[85] 13. 29.13 (Christus) cogeret sibi *elementa* famulari, seruire *uentos* (Cf. Tert. Apol. 21. 17).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[86] 7.355.25 oleam detruncet *turbo* subuertens,

[87] 19.364.12 fortis et religiosa patientia . . . mitis et lenis
et contra omnes fluctuantis mundi *turbines* stabilis
diuinae pollicitationis tempus expectat.

AD DONATUM

[88] 8. 10.20 (exprimunt) Iouem illum . . . aureo *imbre defluere,*
14. 15.11 ut sponte . . . *imber inrorat,* ita se spiritus caelestis infundit.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[89] 2.352. 9 *imbres* et *pluuias* serena longa suspendant

[90] 3.352.27 non hieme nutriendis seminibus tanta *imbrium* copia est,

[91] 6.355.14 *et pluam super unam ciuitatem et super unam non pluam.*
pars una compluetur et pars super quam non pluero arefiet
(Cf. Amos 4. 7).

[92] 7.355.22 (tu miraris) rara desuper *pluuia* descendat
8.356.11 minus nunc tibi . . . frequens *pluuia* . . . obsequium praebeant

[93] 10.358.10 quereris cludi *imbribus* caelum

Less desirable are the other phenomena of air except dew. In consequence these are used metaphorically for blindness and perversion of mind and soul. In the *Ad Donatum* carnal vision is still blinded by a dark cloud of earth.[95] Cyprian promises to roll away the shadows of a shrouded world wiping away the mist of evils.[96] Again he cries out to those who seek splendor and power: O detestable blindness of mind, O dense fog of mad cupidity![97]—this *nubes* and *caligo* could as well be classed with metaphorical light and darkness. In the *Idola* Christ, enveloped in a cloud, was lifted up to heaven.[98] In the *Ad Demetrianum* Aggeus quotes the Lord's threat that the heavens shall refrain from dew;[99] yet the pagan wonders that the slashing hail weakens his vine when he fails to reverence the God who makes them fruitful.[100]

Fire

Those who dwell in tropical countries have reason to be preoccupied with fire and heat and to them it more often connotes discomfort, irritation, drought and subsequent want, torture. It is thus a rich source of metaphor. Wrath inflames.[101] Through grace the prayer of the pure soul suffices to scorch with fire unclean and evil spirits.[102] What tinder for kindling shameful deeds, what fuel for vices is it to be contaminated by theatrical performances! Jupiter on the Carthaginian stage appears aflame with earthly amours amid his very thunderbolts.[103] Even in the forum, renowned center of justice, innocence must fear torture from burning fire—real fire this; crime blazes everywhere (*flagrant ubique*).[104]

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[94] 20.365.23 *imbribus* impetrandis

AD DONATUM

[95] 5. 8. 2 adhuc carnalis aspectus *saeculi nube* caecatur

[96] 6. 8.10 malorum *caligine* abstersa operti saeculi tenebras reuelabo

[97] 12. 14. 1 o detestabilis caecitas mentium et cupiditatis insanae *profunda caligo!*

IDOLA

[98] 14. 31. 2 tunc in caelum *circumfusa nube* sublatus est (Cf. Tert. Apol. 21. 23).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[99] 6.355. 9 *abstinebit caelum a rore* (Cf. Agg. 1. 10).

[100] 7.355.24 (tu miraris) si uineam debilitet *grando* caedens

AD DONATUM

[101] 3. 5.19 iracundia *inflammet*

[102] 5. 7.20 (inmundos et erraticos spiritus) flagris caedere, *igne torrere*

In the *Idola,* Hercules is burned in the fires of Oeta to win immortality.[105] Again through the prayers of exorcism the demons are scorched by fire[106]—here is found the *ignis* of Tertullian's *contemplatione et repraesentatione ignis illius,* not the *incendium* of Minucius Felix's *orationis incendiis.*

In the *Ad Demetrianum* the charred remains and pyres of victim cattle which smoke in the pagan temples imply real flames, and it is with real fire the innocent and just Christians are tortured.[107] Real also is the wonted heat of summer which Cyprian says no longer suffices to ripen the corn,[108] although he refers to the arid field as *aestuans*—seething in the heat.[109] With figurative references are included those to hell: the undying flame abides in the eternal prison hereafter;[110] on earth the burning heat of want grows hotter;[111] the gentile peoples shall be kindled and burned when the day of the Lord shall come glowing as a furnace;[112] He will afflict unbelievers with eternal punishment in the fierce heats of gehenna;[113] the ever glowing gehenna and the devouring penalty of living flames will consume the accursed, and their fire shall not be extinguished.[114]

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[103] 8. 10. 7 quae *probrorum fomenta,* quae alimenta uitiorum,
histrionicis gestibus inquinari, . . .
(exprimunt Iouem illum) in terrenos amores
cum ipsis suis *fulminibus ardentem*

[104] 10. 11.22 (in foro) hasta illic et gladius et carnifex praesto est,
ungula effodiens, eculeus extendens, *ignis exurens,* . . .
flagrant ubique delicta

IDOLA

[105] 2. 19.11 Hercules ut hominem exuat, Oetaeis *ignibus concrematur*
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 23. 7).

[106] 7. 25. 5 uideas illos (daemonas)
nostra uoce et oratione maiestatis occultae
flagris caedi, *igne torreri*
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 27. 5).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[107] 12.360. 4 *fumant* ubique in templis uestris
hostiarum *busta* et *rogi pecorum* . . .
innoxios, iustos . . . *ignibus* punis.

[108] 3.352.28 non frugibus *aestate torrendis* solita *flagrantia* est

[109] 20.365.15 herbis siccitate morientibus *aestuans* campus *arescat,*

[110] 9.356.27 manet postmodum carcer aeternus et iugis *flamma*

[111] 10.358.10 *flagrantius* inopiae *ardor* excrescat

The verbs: *aestuo, ardeo, cremo* and *concremo, exuro, flagro, inflammo, succendo, torreo,* and associated *aresco, extinguo* and *fumo;* the nouns: *aestus, ardor, flagrantia, flamma, bustum* and *rogus, ignis* with *gehenna*—the only Hebrew word used quite freely—all occurring one or more times in these few lines indicate the care with which Cyprian varied his words to secure the maximum effectiveness for his thought. *Viuacibus flammis uorax poena* is an interesting paraphrase for hell. *Fomenta* and *alimenta* suggest here, but not so clearly as in *De Habitu Virginum* 9 and 18, tinder and fuel for feeding the flame of passion.

ORGANIC NATURE

Plants

Trees, Garden and Vineyard

Strangely for a man living in a region made rich by the fruit of the olive, date palm, fig, and other trees, and certainly blessed by their shade from a burning sun, Cyprian mentions trees but rarely. Undoubtedly, he was not blind to their beauty nor unaware of their value. Donatus and he, gazing upon the trees and vines, delight their eyes with the charming view.[115] Demetrianus' complaint that the autumns are no longer fruitful with the bounty of the trees is countered by another reference to the earth's senescence comparing it to a tree once green and fertile, now barren and unsightly, its branches drying up in its old age[116]—a vivid picture of the great gnarled and ancient olive trees.

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[112] 22.366.18 *ecce dies Domini uenit ardens uelut clibanus . . .*
et succendet illos adueniens dies (Cf. Mal. 4. 1).
succendi et *cremari* alienigenas praecanit Dominus

[113] 23.368.11 credite illi qui incredulis aeterna supplicia
gehennae ardoribus inrogabit

[114] 24.368.16 *cremabit* addictos *ardens* semper *gehenna*
et *uiuacibus flammis uorax poena . . .*
ignis eorum non extinguetur (Isa. 66. 24).

AD DONATUM

[115] 1. 3.15 dum in *arbores* et in *uites* uidemus, oblectante prospectu oculos amoenamus

By a not uncommon inconsistency, the man so often damned by the literary critics as placid, trite, and dull, lacking originality, feeling, and power, is frequently criticized for the passage wherein he throws off conventional restraint, waxes enthusiastic, and grows eloquent: first, realistically, about his beloved gardens, and then, metaphorically, about his new found faith. If the *Ad Donatum* were written during his early episcopacy, this introductory scene may have been a delicate and gracious expression of gratitude to the friends whose generosity had restored him to the beloved home which he had sacrificed to charity. Even if Cyprian were only attempting to copy Minucius Felix in painting an artistic background for his dialogue,[1] his was the true artistry that painted from nature, and a spot in nature which he sincerely loved though, in the sense of consciously laboring his words, he may have laid on the color too heavily. There is however no distinctness of detail. No species of tree or plant or flower is named but "the charming face of the gardens joins the soft breezes of gentle autumn in soothing and caressing the senses. There is a seat in a secluded recess where, while wandering tendrils of the vine-shoots with overhanging interlacings creep through the supporting reeds, the leafy shelter forms a viny portico." There seems to be a fascination in interwoven lines which engages the eyes and indeed fairly compels them to follow the intricacies of its tortuous way. When one sits pondering deeply or idly dreaming, the gaze is caught and held almost powerless to escape until the pattern of the maze has been traced and the end clearly discerned. Must we suppose that Cyprian was merely borrowing Cato's words from Cicero's *De Senectute* 15. 52: *vitis serpens multiplici lapsu et erratico* when he wrote: *dum erratici palmitum lapsus nexibus pendulis per*

AD DEMETRIANUM

[116] 3.353. 2 nec adeo *arboreis fetibus* autumna fecunda sunt . . .
arbor quae fuerat ante uiridis et fertilis
arescentibus ramis fit postmodum sterilis, senectute deformis

[1] Cf. Bayard, *op. cit.*, pp. xlix ff.

harundines baiulas repunt, uiteam porticum frondea tecta fecerunt, or is it possible that he had rejoiced to find in Cato, or more probably Cicero, a kindred spirit who likewise loved his garden, loved to watch "growing vines, the little tendrils as tiny hands reaching up to lift their weight off the ground and creeping along with manifold and wandering course." The eyes of both as they struggled with the mighty problems of truth and justice may have felt the lure of the intricate tracery which could find expression only in like involutions of word and phrase. Thence at any rate the old friends, viewing the trees and vines, delight their eyes with the charming vista while they feed their souls with converse on divine grace—note Cyprian's new verb *amoeno* with which he expressed this delight. The man is fully sensible of the enchantment of this pleasant scene who speaks of a deliberate effort to turn the gaze from it to attend more closely to the sublime and spiritual discourse.[117]

AD DONATUM

[117] 1. 3. 3 Bene admones, Donate carissime:
nam et promisisse me memini,
et reddendi tempestiuum prorsus hoc tempus est,
quo *indulgente uindemia* solutus
animus in quietem sollemnes ac statas anni fatigantis indutias sortiatur.
locus etiam cum die conuenit,
et mulcendis sensibus ac fouendis
ad lenes auras blandientis autumni
hortorum facies amoena consentit:
hic iocundum sermonibus diem ducere
et studentibus fabulis in diuina praecepta
conscientiam pectoris erudire.
ac ne loqui nostrum arbiter profanus impediat
aut clamor intemperans familiae strepentis obtundat,
petamus *hanc sedem: dant secessum uicina secreta,*
ubi dum *erratici palmitum lapsus nexibus pendulis*
per *harundines baiulas* repunt,
uiteam porticum frondea tecta fecerunt.
bene hic studia in aures damus,
et dum in arbores et *in uites* uidemus,
oblectante prospectu oculos amoenamus,
animam simul et auditus instruit et pascit obtutus:
quamquam tibi sola nunc gratia, sola cura sermonis est,

In the *Ad Demetrianum* Cyprian quotes the prophets echoing God's threat to bring down His sword upon the vine,[118] in order to prove that it is His wrath which has sent the slashing hail to weaken the vine, the destroying tornado to uproot the olive;[119] elsewhere the prophet reassures us that though there should be no new shoots on the vines,[120] and though even faithful Christians share this misfortune, they should have faith and hope in God's providential care and eternal recompense.[121] Obviously the annual vintage was of very real concern to the North Africans. So too was the fruit of the olive which, like the vine, disappointed pagan and Christian alike, although only twice does Cyprian allude to it.

Fields and Their Fruits

Nowhere could civilized men long ignore the fruits of the fields, source of their daily food. Even in third century Carthage, an over-ambitious Christian such as Donatus might need reminding that those whom he considered wealthy, who added woodlands to woodlands, extending their boundless farms ever farther, heartlessly crowding out the poor, were themselves tortured by anxiety.[122] Demetrianus has charged the Christians with the failure of winter rains to nourish the seeds, summer heat to ripen the corn,[123] but Cyprian quotes the prophecy thus fulfilled[124] and re-

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contemptis uoluptariae uisionis inlecebris
in me oculos tuos fixus es,
qua ore, qua mente totus auditor es
et hoc amore quo diligis.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[118] 6.355.11 *et inducam gladium . . . super uinum* (Agg. 1. 11).

[119] 7.355.24 si *uineam* debilitet grando caedens,
si *oleam* detruncet turbo subuertens,

[120] 20.365. 8 *non erunt nascentia in uineis* (Cf. Hab. 3. 17).

[121] 20.365.14 *uinea* licet fallat et *olea* decipiat . . . quid hoc ad christianos?

AD DONATUM

[122] 12. 13.17 Sed et quos diuites opinaris continuantes *saltibus saltus*
et de confinio pauperibus exclusis *infinita*
ac sine terminis *rura* latius porrigentes . . .
sollicitudo discruciat

AD DEMETRIANUM

[123] 3.352.27 non hieme nutriendis *seminibus* tanta imbrium copia est,
non *frugibus* aestate torrendis solita flagrantia est

torts that if the earth is filthy and unsightly under a mould of dust, if the barren clod scarce yields a starved and pallid herbage, if drought stays the fountain,[125] if a fertile land no longer serves him well,[126] the pagan need not wonder; that the earth mourns is proof of God's angry power.[127] Men ought not complain of barrenness and famine as though barrenness causes greater famine than their own rapacity which has closed the granaries of earth to the starving poor; they ought not complain that the produce fails as though produce of other days has been bestowed on the needy.[128] The Christian mindful of God's warning that the fields should furnish no food and the sheep be wanting in the pasture is not wholly dismayed though the vine fail, the olive deceive, and the field lie shimmering in the heat with its dying herbage parched and dry;[129] he looks forward to Paradise. The day of judgment when the gentiles shall burn like stubble[130] is coming inevitably; in a passage suggested by the Scriptures, imitating the language of Vergil's *Georgics* 1.154: *infelix lolium et sterilis dominantur avenae,* Cyprian writes *inter cultas et fertiles segetes lolium et auena dominetur*: the powerful but unjust are like the cockle and

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[124] 6.355. 9 *terra subtrahet procreationes suas,*
et inducam gladium super terram et super frumentum
(Cf. Agg. 1. 10, 11).

[125] 7.355.23 (tu miraris) si *terra situ pulueris* squaleat,
si uix *ieiunas et pallidas herbas sterilis gleba* producat, . . .
si fontem *siccitas* statuat,

[126] 8.356.11 Quereris quod minus nunc tibi . . . *fertilis terra* obsequium praebeant

[127] 9.357. 8 *terra lugebit . . . cum bestiis agri, cum serpentibus terrae*
(Cf. Osee 4. 7).

[128] 10.358. 7 de *sterilitate* ac fame quereris,
quasi famem maiorem *siccitas* quam rapacitas faciat, . . .
quereris minus *nasci,*
quasi quae *nata sunt* indigentibus praebeantur:

[129] 20.365. 9 *et campi non praestabunt cibum. deficient a pabulo oues*
(Cf. Hab. 3. 17). . . .
et *herbis siccitate morientibus aestuans campus* arescat,

[130] 22.366.19 *eruntque omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula*
(Cf. Mal. 4. 1).

tares which tower above the cultivated and fertile grain,[131] destined in due time to be bound up and burned by the harvesters.

There is indeed nothing startling or original in these homely facts; there is variety in vocabulary and rhetorical artistry in expression—*saltus, rus, terra, puluis, gleba, ager, campus* in turn indicate the land; *semen, frux, procreatio* from Cyprian's Bible which never appears in the Vulgate, *frumentum, herba, cibum, pabulum, stipula, seges, lolium* and *auena,* its fruits, but the earth is almost personified as a filthy beggar, *terra situ pulueris squaleat,* and like a gaunt old woman the barren clod clutches its pale and starving brood, *ieiunas et pallidas herbas sterilis gleba producat.* Mere juxtaposition of words may have resulted in *herbis siccitate morientibus aestuans campus arescat; aestuans* may be only a three-syllable word suggesting heat desired by the rhetorician. But might we not suppose with equal justice that the shepherd of his people who had been suffering so keenly during the long months of dread disease and death, of drought and famine, had gazed anxiously over the land, his hopes of relief for his starving flock dying with the dying crops, as the field lay shimmering, quivering under the heat waves. *Aestuans campus* might then be simple realism. TLL records no instance of *campus* with this epithet, but in the Georgics 1.107, Vergil writes *cum exustus ager morientibus aestuat herbis*—an obvious parallel. Vergil too loved the land and would see it with sympathetic eyes.

Root, Seed, Fruit—Metaphorical

No less real is the metaphorical use of this fruitage when applied to mind and heart. The discourse on grace addressed to Donatus opens with the conventional note of apology for inadequate gifts or preparation, but in a new humility which prompted the confession of former blindness and sin: The spare mediocrity of my poor talent brings forth but meager fruits; it is not heavy with towering stalks portending rich harvest from a fertile soil.[132] But the rhetorician, however humble as a Christian neophyte, could not withstand the lure of the alliterative possibilities in *nullis ad copiam fecundi caespitis culminibus ingravescit,* given a Vergilian echo from the Eclogues 1. 68: *congestum caespite culmen* to begin with. Evil habits are embedded deep down within the soul with strong and penetrating root.[133] A disputed passage in the text of the *Idola* quotes Tertullian verbatim: the splendor of the Jewish kingdom flowered.[134] These two are mere commonplaces, but Cyprian's righteous indignation against his carping pagan critic provokes a new metaphorical use of *semino* and *pullulatio*: I respond therefore to you, Demetrianus, and to the many whom you have formed into a company for yourself by the pullulation or budding of your own root and origin, sowing hatreds against us by your foulmouthed words.[135] Unlike the Christian the pagan takes all the fruit of his living here in this world;[136] the short-lived fruit of his cruel eyes, enjoyed during persecutions wrought upon the Christians, will be outweighed by an everlasting vision; in eternity there will be the pain of punishment without the fruit of penitence;[137] there too is provision made for everlasting salvation by the worship of God and the fruit of faith[138]—four uses of fruit in metaphor.

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[131] 23.367.25 inter *cultas et fertiles segetes lolium* et *auena* dominetur.

AD DONATUM

[132] 2. 4. 7 exilis ingenii angusta mediocritas *tenues* admodum *fruges* parit, nullis ad copiam *fecundi caespitis culminibus ingrauescit*

Animals

Beasts, Birds, Reptiles, Insects

Animals for the most part play an insignificant role in Cyprian's thought. Condemning the inhumanity of gladiatorial combats he queries: What of this when men expose themselves to wild beasts though no one has condemned them? They battle against beasts not for crime but for madness.[139] On the stage Jupiter is depicted now gleaming white in the plumage of a swan, now swooping down with ministering birds to seize upon youths of earth.[140] In the forum the madness of disputants rages, and amid togas, the garb of peace, peace is broken; the mad forum bellows with litigations[141]—indirect metaphorical designations of the quarrelsome as mad dogs or oxen. There is here no apparent affection for even dogs, much less cattle or swine. Metaphorical too, though of earlier date, were the names of the instruments of torture ready at hand in the forum: the *ungula* or claw for tearing the flesh, the *equuleus* or little horse as the rack was termed.[142] Borrowed also, and as far removed from the real living animal, is the notion of the unhappy rich man lying awake on down (*uigilat in pluma*),[143] probably imitating Seneca.

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[133] 3. 5.11 *alta* haec et *profunda* penitus *radice* sederunt.

IDOLA

[134] 10. 27. 9 regni sublimitas *floruit* (Cf. Apol. 21. 4).

AD DEMETRIANUM

[135] 2.352.14 odia tuis maledicis uocibus *seminando* comites tibi plures
radicis adque *originis* tui *pullulatione* fecisti:

[136] 18.363.24 cuius *uiuendi fructus* omnis hic capitur,

[137] 24.368.20 in persecutionibus factis *oculorum crudelium breuis fructus*
perpetua uisione pensabitur. . . .
erit tunc sine *fructu paenitentiae* dolor poenae,

[138] 25.370. 5 hic saluti aeternae cultu Dei et *fructu fidei* prouidetur.

In the *Idola* passages quoted almost verbatim from the *Octavius* mention Apollo as feeding the flock of Admetus;[144] Paulus, though having the sacred chickens in good feed, as slain;[145] the demons as determining auspices by animating the fibers of the entrails and governing the flights of birds.[146] The demons admitting their identity, glutted by the reeking stench of the altars—and by the burning pyres of victim cattle, are also merely quotations but in an unusual combination from both the *Octavius* and *Apologeti-*

AD DONATUM

[139] 7. 9. 6 quale est, ubi se *feris* obiciunt, quos nemo damnauit. . . . pugnant ad *bestias* non crimine sed furore.

[140] 8. 10.18 Iouem . . . nunc in *plumam oloris* albescere, . . . nunc in puerorum pubescentium raptus *ministris auibus* prosilire.

[141] 10. 11.21 *saeuit* inuicem discordantium *rabies* et inter togas pace rupta forum litibus *mugit* insanum.

[142] 10. 11.22 hasta illic et gladius et carnifex praesto est, *ungula* effodiens, *eculeus* extendens, ignis exurens (Cf. Seneca Ep. 14. 5).

[143] 12. 13.26 (Diues) uigilat in *pluma* (Cf. Seneca De Prov. 3. 10).

IDOLA

[144] 2. 20. 1 Apollo Admeto *pecus* pauit (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 24. 5),

[145] 5. 23. 6 *pullos* edaces habuit Paulus et apud Cannas tamen caesus est (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 26. 3).

[146] 7. 24. 8 extorum fibras animant, *auium* uolatus gubernant, (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 27. 1).

[147] 7. 24.14 nidore altarium (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 27. 2). et rogis *pecorum* saginati (Cf. Tert. Apol. 23. 14).

cum.[147] The one king ruling bees as the one leader for each flock and one monarch for the herd,[148] quoted from the *Octavius* here and again in Epistle 66 does not prove Cyprian overcredulous; it struck no discordant note for naturalists of antiquity. Even the greatest of the ancient scientists, though some were puzzled, had not correctly determined the sex of the ruler in each hive. It seems to have remained for the seventeenth century to solve the problem.[m]

In biting satirical tone Cyprian begins his open letter to Demetrianus with *Oblatrantem te,* attributing his own previous silence under unjust accusations to a man's contempt for such barking, and citing Scripture texts forbidding Christians to expose what is sacred to be trodden by swine and dogs (*porcis et canibus*); he then asserts the greater possibility of stemming angry waves of a turbulent sea by shouts, than of curbing his madness (*rabiem*) by arguments, that it was vain and useless labor to offer wisdom to a brute (*bruto*), since a brute could not understand more than a blind man see light or a deaf man hear,[149] and that he could neither teach the unteachable nor restrain the raging (*furentem*) with gentleness.[150] Demetrianus must have been *brutus* and *indocibilis* indeed did he not comprehend that he was being included among the pigs and dogs and that the pearls of wisdom in the apologetic discourse addressed to him were really for other and more fair-minded pagans. The prophets, called to witness that misfortunes are God's punishment for pagan idolatry, quote God threatening to bring down His sword upon the cattle;[151] to make the land mourn with the beasts of the field, serpents of the earth, birds of the air, fishes of the sea;[152] to cause the sheep to be wanting in the pasture and cattle in the stalls,[153] as though all nature is condemned to suffer with guilty men. Animals seem thus unwittingly to have shared man's guilt when they tolerated their veneration: crocodiles, dog-headed apes, Anubis and his kind, and serpents were worshipped with smoking piles of victim cattle;[154] wild beasts participate with insatiably rabid torturers in persecution.[155] Animals, unlike man who stands erect looking to heaven, are bowed down to earth, but men who worship the serpent prostrate themselves groveling on the earth in like manner.[156] The paschal lamb prefigures the Lamb of God, and only by the sign and blood of the lamb could the Jewish people escape.[157] Finally in the words of Isaias, the worm of a remorseful conscience shall not die.[158]

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[148] 8. 26. 5 rex unus est *apibus* et dux unus in *gregibus*
et in *armentis* rector unus
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 18. 7).

[m] Cf. Royds, p. 60 ff.

AD DEMETRIANUM

[149] 1.351. 2 *Oblatrantem* te
et aduersus Deum qui unus et uerus est
ore sacrilego et uerbis impiis obstrepentem frequenter,
Demetriane, contempseram. . . .
sanctum quoque iubeamus intra conscientiam nostram tenere
nec inculcandum *porcis et canibus* exponere
loquente Domino et dicente:
ne dederitis sanctum canibus
neque miseritis margaritas uestras ante porcos,
ne inculcent eas pedibus suis (Cf. Matt. 7. 6). . . .
quando facilius esset et leuius
turbulenti maris concitos fluctus clamoribus retundere
quam tuam *rabiem* tractatibus coercere
certe et labor inritus et nullus effectus offere lumen caeco,
sermonem surdo, sapientiam *bruto,*
cum nec sentire *brutus* possit nec caecus lumen admittere
nec surdus audire.

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[150] 2.352. 5 Haec considerans saepe conticui et inpatientem patientia uici,
cum nec docere *indocilem* possem . . .
nec *furentem* lenitate cohibere.

[151] 6.355.12 (*et inducam gladium*) *super pecora* (Cf. Agg. 1. 11).

[152] 9.357. 8 *idcirco terra lugebit . . . cum bestiis agri, cum serpentibus terrae,*
cum uolucribus caeli, et deficient pisces maris
(Cf. Osee 4. 3).

[153] 20.365.10 *deficient in pabulo oues et non erunt in praesepibus boues*
(Cf. Hab. 3. 17).

[154] 12.360. 3 *monstra* uenerantur. . . .
fumant ubique in templis uestris hostiarum busta et rogi *pecorum*. . . .
crocodili et *cynocephali* et lapides et *serpentes* coluntur,

[155] 12.360. 9 *bestiis,* gladio, ignibus punis.
13.360.15 Quae haec est insatiabilis carnificinae *rabies,*

[156] 16.362.16 cetera *animalia* prona et ad terram situ uergente depressa sint. . . .
quid te in lapsum mortis cum *serpente* quem colis sternis?
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 17. 2).

Only one reference from the introduction of the *Ad Fortunatum* is included here. Cyprian sends the very wool and purple from the Lamb through whom we have been redeemed and made to live;[159] from these—the Scripture passages which contain the words and example of Christ empurpled by His precious blood—Fortunatus can fashion for his own soul a mantle of thought fitted to his needs and those of his flock soon to face the trials of persecution.

Miscellaneous

Poison

The references to poison in the *Ad Donatum,* the only one of the three apologetic works which contains any, in contrast to those in the other treatises, do not refer specifically to the serpent's venom but are included for the purpose of comparison. From grace, power is given the pure voice to extinguish the virus of poisons for the relief of the suffering.[160] In the forum crime is rife, and through wicked minds the noxious virus works.[161] The symbols of power, deemed honors, are but the hidden virus of seductive evils. Poison, when its deadly juices have been sweetened and the taste disguised with the astuteness of deceit, may seem to be the potion usually taken, but once consumed the deadliness which has been drained advances for the attack.[162]

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[157] 22.367.15 occiso *agno* praecedit in imagine. . . .
Iudaicus populus euadere non nisi sanguine et signo *agni* potuit,

[158] 24.368.22 *uermis eorum non morietur* (Cf. Is. 66. 24).

AD FORTUNATUM

[159] 3.318.16 nunc uero de *agno* per quem redempti ac uiuificati sumus
lanam ipsam et purpuram misi,

AD DONATUM

[160] 5. 7.13 uoce pura in medellam dolentium posse *uenenorum uirus* extinguere,

[161] 10. 12. 3 per improbas mentes *nocens uirus* operatur.

[162] 11. 12.21 malorum blandientium *uirus* occultum est. . . .
instar quoddam *ueneni,* ubi in *letales sucos* dulcedine aspersa
calliditate fallendi sapore medicato
poculum uidetur esse, quod sumitur:
ubi epota res est, pernicies hausta grassatur.

Color

Color in a land riotous with color is strangely passed over for the most part in silence. Donatus is asked to accept what is not eloquent but powerful, not colored with artful words.[163] Only grace could make the man, once conspicuous in sumptuous raiment gleaming in purple and gold, don simple attire.[164] What man often regards as good, the glory of the magistrate's purple, is but the appearance of smiling iniquity. A man distinguished by his brilliant dress, gleaming as he thinks in his purple, has purchased his splendor by self-abasement before the powerful.[165] In sharp contrast to the sinister gleam of purple and gold is the rich and glowing beauty of virtue. Ceilings embellished with gold, mansions encrusted with slabs of precious marble seem poor beside the temple of the Holy Spirit. When that dwelling is painted with the colors of innocence, illumined with the light of justice, its beauty will not be marred because the color on the wall or the gold lose their luster with age. All things are destined to fade when colored by human hands. This spiritual abode remains in beauty forever vivid, in honor unsullied, in splendor enduring.[166] Far different is the splendor of the stage Jupiter, gleaming white in the plumage of a swan.[167] Utterly different is the purple which Cyprian sends to Fortunatus—the wool and purple of the Lamb through whom

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AD DONATUM

[163] 2. 4.13 denique accipe non diserta, sed fortia, nec . . . culto sermone
fucata,

[164] 3. 5.13 et qui pretiosa ueste *conspicuus* in *auro* atque in *purpura fulsit,*
ad plebeium se ac simplicem cultum quando deponit?

[165] 11. 12.20 quam . . . in magistratus *purpura* speciem . . .
quippe illum uides, qui amictu *clariore* conspicuus
fulgere sibi uidetur in *purpura:*
quibus hoc sordibus emit, ut *fulgeat,*

[166] 15. 15.25 *pingamus* hanc domum (templum Spiritus) *pigmentis* innocentiae,
luminemus luce iustitiae. . . .
nec *pigmento* parietis aut *auro* exolescente foedabitur.
caduca sunt, quaecumque *fucata* sunt . . .
hoc manet *cultu iugiter uiuido,*
honore integro,
splendore diuturno.

[167] 8. 10.19 (Iouem illum) nunc in plumam oloris *albescere*

we have been redeemed and given new life—the purple of newly shed blood.[168]

Of reference to color in the world of nature the *Ad Demetrianum* furnishes the only two possible instances: the sun which darts its rays with less fiery splendor as it sets; the tree once green and fruitful, now dry and sterile.[169] The *igneo* may, however, indicate heat more than color, and the *uiridis* emphasize vigor rather than greenness.

Sound

Sound from the elements, from bird or beast, is never heard. The human voice plays the role of beast or battle trumpet. With Donatus Cyprian seeks the quiet spot where the untempered clamor of a noisy household may not disturb their discourse.[170] The forum bellows with noisy litigations.[171] The Christian home, on the contrary, should resound with psalms at the evening repast and Donatus with a melodious voice is asked to intone the hymns, that religious sweetness may soothe the listening ears.[172] Demetrianus, barking and noising his accusations, preferring to put forth his own views, impudently shouting with clamorous words, rather than to listen patiently to reasonable arguments, the Bishop

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AD FORTUNATUM

[168] 3.318.16 nunc vero de agno per quem redempti ac uiuificati sumus
lanam ipsam et *purpuram* misi,

AD DEMETRIANUM

[169] 3.353.11 sol in occasu suo radios minus claro et *igneo* splendore iaculatur, . . .
arbor quae fuerat ante *uiridis* et fertilis . . . fit postmodum sterilis,

AD DONATUM

[170] 1. 3.10 ne loqui nostrum . . . *clamor intemperans familiae strepentis* obtundat,

[171] 10. 11. 2 *saeuit* inuicem discordantium rabies
et inter togas pace rupta forum litibus *mugit* insanum.

[172] 16. 16.11 *sonet psalmos* conuiuium sobrium:
ut tibi tenax memoria est, *uox canora* adgredere hoc munus ex more . . .
prolectet aures religiosa *mulcedo.*

long endured with silent contempt.[173] His false and ill-founded complaints, ignorant of the truth, he still hurls forth and shouts aloud,[174] untouched by Cyprian's patience. To Fortunatus the Bishop writes: It is a small matter that we rouse the people of God by the trumpet of our voice unless we also uphold their faith and courage by divine readings.[175] Let these be the inspiring notes of the martial trumpet; these the blast for the fighting. By them let the ears be aroused; by them let the minds be instructed.[176]

C. Summary

These apologetic works show marked differences in the treatment of nature. As was to be expected the *Quod Idola Dii Non Sint* employs it nowhere for effect. The occasional factual references are concerned with mythological deities, evil spirits hovering about the smoking sacrificial victims, and Christ's mastery over winds and waves.

The *Ad Donatum* has two distinct uses for nature: the one descriptive, first of a real and charming garden scene and a peaceful home, then of sea and city, theater and forum, viewed successively in imagination from a high mountain; the other figurative, rarely in similes, almost constantly in metaphors which are very often expressed in a single word. Those involving light and darkness occur most frequently; water, turbulent winds, and dense fog, poisonous venom with diminishing frequency. The ceaseless

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AD DEMETRIANUM

[173] 1.351. 2 *Oblatrantem* te . . . et uerbis impiis *obstrepentem* frequenter contempseram
clamosis uocibus personans malles tua inpudenter ingerere . . .
facilius esset . . . concitos fluctus *clamoribus* retundere

[174] 5.354.14 tua falsa querimonia et inperitia ueritatis ignara iactat et *clamitat,*

AD FORTUNATUM

[175] 1.317.11 parum est enim quod Dei plebem *classico nostrae uocis* erigimus,

[176] 4.318.29 illa sint *militaris tubae* hortamenta,
illa pugnantibus *classica.*
inde aures erigantur,
inde instruantur mentes,

and unreconcilable conflict between things heavenly and earthly, between the powers of light and darkness, finds expression in almost every sentence. Gold and silver represent wealth and power, and the pleasure these can procure; purple and gold, political office. Colors other than purple seem to have been unnoticed.

The *Ad Demetrianum,* however, is largely a description of the natural world falling to ruin and decay, more elaborate stylistically than in descriptive detail, although this too shows a man whose eyes were open to the charms of a rich and fruitful country. Mountains are referred to only as a source of precious metals or marble; the sea, as the storm-tossed road of traders. As is natural in such a tropical land as North Africa, fountains and rain showers are an unfailing source of refreshment and fertility; drought, of deadly blight and famine. The vine and olive alone are named besides the fruits of the field, but the soil itself is mentioned with unusual variety in vocabulary. There is no positive evidence that there is any special sentiment connected with these as there is in the opening scene of the *Ad Donatum.* They are the source of food and health and prosperity. Seed, root, and fruit are also frequently employed in metaphor. Interest in animal life is completely wanting. Animals are referred to occasionally, however; some as objects of worship, or means of torture; the lamb as symbol of Christ; the prone and crawling serpent as the devil; the worm as remorse.

There is no special significance to be attached to Cyprian's error in quoting Minucius Felix about the bees having a king, since of all the ancients who studied or wrote about this amazing insect, none seems to have suspected the real identity or sex of the ruler of the hive. Of greater interest is the address to Demetrianus. Cyprian was imitating Seneca, no doubt, in the use of *oblatro* but the *te oblatrantem,* followed closely by *canibus, tuam rabiem, brutus* and *furentem,* leaves little room for doubt that he meant it to have more than a metaphorical meaning. A similar note is struck in *forum mugit* where the litigants suggested to him but bellowing cattle. These two words alone are descriptive of sound in nature. The very few others refer to the sound of the human voice. Color also plays an insignificant part.

One other feature of the natural scene is worthy of comment. Even to us small paths or great highways are a central figure in many a landscape. Roads are attractive and beckon the imagination. In the ancient world their importance must have been vastly greater. Not only to Christians who had heard their Leader say "I am the Way," but to all the world were the great roads the avenues of food, of defense, of variety and diversion. In contrast to these were the solitudes, the desert wastes, the secret retreats —all of which furnished a wealth of metaphorical language.

The introductory passages from the two compendia of Scripture texts addressed to Quirinus and Fortunatus and the conclusion of the latter use nature metaphorically: heaven and earth in contrast, the water of Baptism; the Scriptures themselves as the radiance from the pure white light of Christ by which the soul is led from the shadows of error, as springs of divine plenitude whence we may drink freely and be abundantly satisfied, or as the empurpled wool of the Lamb wherewith each one may make a fitting garment for his soul. Cyprian's own voice is twice likened to a trumpet call inspiriting the Christians for the coming conflict. The Scriptures quoted in these two potential apologies, which have not been included here as not being Cyprian's words and not elsewhere introduced into his writings, show some interesting differences from his practice. The Old Testament writers in particular frequently reveal a greater freedom than Cyprian in their allusions to nature—piling up specific names of fruits, trees, flowers and animals, for instance—but that belongs to another study.

CHAPTER II

NATURE AND THE VOCABULARY OF NATURE IN THE DISCIPLINARY WORKS

A. Introduction

The nature and subject of Cyprian's eight disciplinary treatises as well as of his other writings grow out of his episcopal position, the circumstances of the times, the needs of the Church as a whole, of his see in particular. His thought on these matters and his expression of this thought are determined by his own character and training. A brief discussion of these is pertinent here.

Astonishing as it must have been to the pagan world to see a wealthy, cultured, and influential gentleman submit to the lowly cult of Christianity, it was no less astonishing to Caecilius Cyprian himself to feel the overwhelming purifying power of the divine grace which flooded his soul. Devoted as he had been to the study of the Scripture, he straightway set himself to the practice of its primary virtues: chastity by binding himself to continency, and charity by selling his possessions and distributing the proceeds to the poor—a charity wherein generosity was balanced by a foresight which retained just enough to enable it to give again. Pontius informs us of these two renunciations.[a] A third, no less remarkable, has been inferred only from the writings of the ardent convert. Except in the *Idola* which preceded his Baptism, there is nowhere formal mention or citation of a single pagan author. Were it actually made, this break with his old masters, both Greek and Roman classics, must have cost him dearly and knows no exact parallel among early Christian writers. If an unusual intellectual asceticism prompted him to ignore all the literature associated with idolatry: poetry and prose—even the rhetoric which had brought him fame—rhetoric certainly took its revenge. The thought of the

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[a] Cf. *Vita* 2.

Bishop might escape it, but not his style[b]—this fact, so obvious on every page, is justified by Augustine in a famous comparison found in *De Doctrina Christiana* II, 40 and quoted frequently to vindicate the Christians in the acquisition and use of pagan learning:

> When the Jews fled from Egypt they took with them, at God's behest, treasures of gold and silver for the adornment of the temple. Not that the temple, enriched with the very presence and holiness of God, was in need of such material gifts or beauty, but it is well to use the gifts of the Creator for His honor. In like manner did Cyprian, Lactantius, Victorinus, Optatus, and Hilary bear their treasure of profane learning into the Church with them to consecrate these to the services of Christ, poor though these are beside the sublimity of the Sacred Scriptures.

Enhanced by his austerities and his alms, the brilliance of his talent and his social prestige, the renown of the ardent convert soon established his widespread moral authority. Made priest soon after his baptism, probably about 246, he was almost unanimously chosen to replace Bishop Donatus at his death in 249. Despite the humility which prompted Cyprian's withdrawal from view until the determined choice of the people and the intrigues of the minority opposition convinced him of his duty of compliance, when once consecrated, the new Bishop devoted himself vigorously and wholeheartedly to his episcopal duties. Overlooking previous animosity toward himself, he admitted all to his friendship and asserted his intention of taking no action without consulting the clergy and people, but left open no question as to his authority based on the will of God and the suffrage of the entire people.

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[b] Monceaux, pp. 207, 208; 349, 350, thus discusses this renunciation, but as an established fact. Koch, however, in his study, "I rapporti di Cipriano con Ireneo ed altri scrittori greci," in *Ricerche Religiose* V (1929), 137-163, presents the evidence which he has gathered to support his belief that Cyprian was familiar with most of the Christian literature, both Greek and Latin, current in his day. Since, apart from quotations from the Sacred Writings and their authors, in all his works no Christian writer is cited by name, and none quoted at length excepting Tertullian and occasionally Minucius Felix, Cyprian's undeniable failure to name or quote pagan authors is hardly conclusive proof that after his conversion he had utterly renounced them, probable though his devotion to the Scriptures and the ceaseless labors entailed by his abounding apostolic zeal would make such a renunciation. It would seem that Cyprian's manner of composition did not include direct quotations and the interesting question as to his literary sources is thus left open to further study.

1. DE HABITU VIRGINUM

Cyprian's first action was directed toward the improvement of religious discipline—reforms which spread throughout Christian Africa and were the subject of his early correspondence with the diocesans of neighboring sees. Among these is an answer to a query regarding the discipline of virgins, living sometimes in dangerous and regrettable circumstances. Whether this letter prompted the first treatise or vice versa, it is difficult to determine. As we have seen, St. Cyprian himself, even before baptism, had bound himself to continency; his own deep regard for this virtue would insure his solicitude for the flower of the Church—as he titled the body of Christian virgins—and would prompt him to admonish them concerning the dangers which beset the beautiful and delicate virtue which distinguished them from the pagan world with its vanities and vices. The *De Habitu Virginum,* sometimes assigned to Cyprian's brief priestly career prior to his elevation to the episcopacy, more probably belongs to the few months between his consecration and the Decian persecution. Being the first of his pastoral letters it leans the more heavily on the authority and experience of the "master," Tertullian. Cyprian seems to have had but two ready sources in Latin: first the Holy Scriptures, and second, but not too close a second, Tertullian. He instinctively preserved the proper balance in his reliance on divine inspiration and human wisdom, and maintained a remarkable independence of both in language and style.

In the introduction to her text and commentary on this treatise, Sister Angela Elizabeth Keenan has made an extensive study and comparison of Cyprian's sources, especially in the several kindred treatises of Tertullian—*De Cultu Feminarum* in particular. She concludes that while obviously this last is the very foundation of Cyprian's thought, and other works of the same author play a minor part; while reflections on luxury and wealth similar to those in the Cynico-Stoic diatribe are discernible—whether under direct influence or through the *Paedagogus* of Clement of Alexandria remaining uncertain—the spirit and the manner of expressing the thought are distinctly his own. It was this style more than the thought which prompted Augustine to excerpt three passages from this treatise as models for his young Christian orators in the *De Doctrina Christiana* IV; it was the content which caused Jerome to recommend it to the virgins under his spiritual guidance, and perhaps even Ambrose to feel its influence.[c]

There are a few metaphors, a few illustrations based on the natural world in this work addressed to the virgins of Carthage; but taking his cue from the prophets no less than from Tertullian, and seconded, no doubt, by his own keen knowledge of human nature, the Bishop eschews the profundities of theology and appeals to the almost universal interests of womankind: their own exalted position, and bright color in dress and adornment. The sincerity of his paternal solicitude, of his reverence for the virtuous state they professed, and of the humility with which he begged their prayers tempered the satire, and sweetened the tone of his admonitions.

Professor Rand has neatly and with penetration expressed the difference between Cyprian and Tertullian:

> In his treatise *De cultu feminarum,* Tertullian starts promptly with a slap on the face for his fair hearer, daughter of Eve, the devil's gateway. Cyprian, imitating the work in his *De habitu Virginum,* praises the saintly maidens, who are the flower of the Church. But let them not dress too stylishly. For young men will gaze and sigh and conceive secret desires, *'so that even if you yourself are not ruined you will ruin others.'* After the exordium of Tertullian, a woman would feel indignant or amused, or both; after Cyprian's she would reverently obey the call of *noblesse oblige.* Cyprian has translated his master not only into an urbane Ciceronian diction, but into a wise urbanity of soul. Here speaks a great Christian teacher and father of his flock. Tertullian's disordered outbursts give place in Cyprian to a reasoned and effective art.[d]

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[c] Cf. Sister Angela Elizabeth Keenan, pp. 4, 10, 32, 35, 39.

[d] Rand, in CAH XII, p. 602.

2. DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

No work of Cyprian has caused more controversy than the one on the unity of the Church. It is quoted by the fiercest opponents each to support his own argument: that the Church of Rome is the center of Christianity, or that the Church exists in a common union of all her bishops. The controversy as such concerns us not at all except that the disputed chapter 4, in which the so-called primacy text is found and often challenged as a later interpolation, contains also a passage about the sheep entrusted to Peter's care.[e]

Perhaps the most beautiful passages in Cyprian are those which illustrate the unbreakable unity of the Church. Written very probably when this unity was being violated by the schism of Felicissimus, Novatus, and the other priests in Carthage who had from the beginning opposed the election and episcopacy of Cyprian, it was very likely read or delivered to the people shortly before or after the Bishop's return in the spring of 251. That it was read also before the council may be questioned but a copy may have been sent to Pope Cornelius, whose position during the Roman schism led by Novatian and his party was similarly painful.

Since the style of the passage in question has been pronounced that of Cyprian, it is quite probable that the variant text was a later revision by the writer himself who developed at somewhat greater length the responsibility of the individual bishops. Written as it seems to have been in the comparative quiet and leisure of his retreat,[f] this little treatise has a beauty and power worthy of the reverent love which the Bishop bore the one, true, and Catholic Church.

3. DE LAPSIS

The year 250 brought the Decian persecution which assailed the Church directly in its organization, its administrators. The persistent cries "Cyprian to the lion!" induced the Bishop to retire from the city. His correspondence during the next fifteen months ably dealt with all the problems which vexed the Church in Africa.

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[e] Maurice Bevenot, S.J., in his *St. Cyprian's De Unitate Ch. 4,* London, 1938, gives an excellent summary of the controversy.

[f] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen,* p. 131.

Only after his return to the city in the spring of 251 did he publish the next two treatises. Both arose out of the circumstances and are consequently quite original in matter, vigorous and earnest in manner; in style they are characteristic. The first dealt with the question of the lapsed. A prolonged period of peace had induced spiritual languor and overweaning worldliness. Startled by the emperor's decree, an appalling number rushed to comply. Among the lapsed three groups were distinguished: those who offered incense, those who actually partook of the sacrifices, and those who in some other way secured the certificates of sacrifice which insured their freedom from further examination.

Once possessed of the precious certificates which insured their personal safety, however, the great majority longed for forgiveness of their sin and permission to reenter communion with the Church. Many in remorse began at once to lament and deplore their sin, to do penance performing all possible works of mercy. Some, no doubt, relieved by their temporary freedom from Christian obligations, awaited without too much distress whatever gesture the Church herself might make toward reconciliation. The confessors or martyrs in prison began to intercede for pardon for their relatives and friends. Although at first their requests were honored, such serious abuses sprang up from numerous requests for almost universal amnesty that the Bishop, at the risk of seeming heartlessness, had to reprove their ill-considered zeal for mercy; he then required the penitents—except one should be in danger of death—to persevere in their life of penance until the end of persecution should make it possible for him to return to the city and judge the merits of each individual case in person. For the moment his sternness served as a pretext to the rebellious and schismatic priests in the city to win adherents by admitting the lapsed to Communion immediately. Later when persecution threatened again under Gallus and the Bishop felt it advisable to strengthen the courage of all by the grace of the sacraments, his opponents were to reverse their positions completely and attack him on the score of undue leniency. At the council which met in Carthage in the spring of 251, Cyprian's treatise was read and became the basis of a uniform course of action, adopted in North Africa. It was later submitted to Rome where these principles also obtained and were to be the Novatianists' pretext for condemning Pope Cornelius.

Opening with a joyous paean of thanksgiving to God for a new day of peace, and of praise for the courageous martyrs who had triumphed over torture, the Bishop soon breaks into a cry of pain —the pangs of a shepherd sorely wounded in his flock.

4. DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

Sometime before the plague reached alarming proportions, toward the end of 251 or at the beginning of 252, Cyprian prepared a work on prayer analogous to Tertullian's *De Oratione*. Despite similarity in general outline, many details, and even expressions, the proportions differ widely. While Tertullian's commentary on the Lord's Prayer occupies scarcely a fourth of the work, Cyprian's becomes the central and dominant element, thus securing unity and harmony. Unoriginal though it may be, it far surpassed its model and indeed was long the best known if not the best work on the subject. St. Hilary in his commentary on the Gospel of St. Matthew could say: Cyprian of holy memory has relieved us of a need for commenting on the sacrament of prayer. St. Augustine extols it as sufficing to teach all that is necessary for right living. It certainly records the thoughts of a man who truly prayed.

Koch concludes from his comparative studies that *De Dominica Oratione* stems from the same atmosphere as *De Lapsis, De Unitate* and *De Zelo et Liuore*. That it is quieter, dryer, more didactic results from its being in the fourth place in this period in his opinion.[g] Agreement in this dating does not necessitate accepting this description. The meditative character of this treatise arises from its theme—the Lord's Prayer.

Its concern with our Father who is in heaven, His children who are on earth, and with our prayer which should rise to Him both day and night, in light and in darkness, almost restricts its nature allusions to these four large themes.

5. DE MORTALITATE

During the brief respite after the Decian persecution while the frightful plague which was ravaging Africa in 252 spread terror and dismay, the Bishop addressed his people with words of encouragement and consolation. The heavy mortality was neither an unexpected nor unmitigated evil. Death to a Christian is a release from conflict, a source of merit if suffered with resignation. Those who regretted the loss of martyrdom he assured that God wanted not their blood but only the faith which they were ready to prove with their blood. His reward is determined by their good will. The dead should not be mourned, lest Christians belie their faith in a glorious eternity.

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[g] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen*, p. 138.

This beautiful expression of Christian stoicism naturally shows conscious or unconscious borrowings from the commonplaces of earlier writers, Cicero and Seneca especially; but it rises infinitely above them in its appeal to the Scriptures, the doctrines of Christ.[h] The subject of this Christian exhortation on death offers few occasions for allusions to nature. Such few as occur are slight in matter but as usual stylistically adorned.

6. DE OPERA ET ELEEMOSYNIS

Few men could preach Christian charity with greater authority than the Bishop of Carthage. From his early renunciation and distribution of his goods, through the trying months of the Decian persecution when so many were suffering proscription, his watchful care had gone out to the needy. Whence his resources came we may guess. Christians who still enjoyed the possession of their wealth were not too loathe to share their surpluses with the poor through the Bishop's ministers, since any day might bring proscription and complete loss. To the lapsed suffering from remorse, almsgiving and works of mercy were suggested as acceptable means of penance. With the appalling devastation of the plague, greater need arose for charity both in money and in service for the sick and dying—a need which would scarcely cease at once when the force of the plague was spent. Children orphaned, the aged left childless and dependent, the weak now convalescent, their debts unpaid—all would continue to need the aid of those still blessed with health and fortune, just as the need to practice the special Christian virtues persists always.

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[h] Cf. Hannan, Introduction.

Although this treatise is not dated exactly, Koch's studies indicate that it is closely linked with the *De Mortalitate* and *Ad Demetrianum* and closely follows them in late 252 or 253.[i]

The abiding pertinence and beauty of this treatise made it a favorite among the ancients; Jerome and Augustine refer to it, and it is even cited in the acts of the General Council of Ephesus in 431.

7. DE BONO PATIENTIAE

Sometime about 256 during the troubled period of the baptismal controversy, the peace-loving soul of Cyprian voiced its longing for understanding and union in a treatise based obviously on Tertullian's *De Patientia.* Yet here where his literary dependence is perhaps greatest in general outline and choice of illustrations, here where Tertullian indeed shows unusual gentleness and serenity, the difference between the two men in spirit and language is still clearly revealed. Bayard has selected the description of Job common to both to point up these differences.[j]

The patience for which the Bishop pleads is not the stoic quality of indifference but a Christian imitation of Christ, the lack of which inevitably brings the evils of strife. Threats of renewed persecution must have already been heard for the conclusion is an eloquent appeal for long-suffering patience in trial and persecution, while awaiting the final day of God's eternal reckoning. This treatise, enclosed in Epistle 73 to Jubianus, probably a bishop of Mauritania, had very likely been the subject of previous sermons to his people.

8. DE ZELO ET LIVORE

Although titled for the undesirable qualities of jealousy and envy, this short and compact treatise is more concerned with the transcendent virtues of charity and humility which mankind's cunning enemy deviously assails. Pontius has led to the belief that it was written near the end of Cyprian's life shortly after *De Bono Patientiae*. As late as 1930 Bayard says: "In the course of the discussion relative to the baptism of heretics and of his differences with Pope Stephen, he wrote in 256 the *De Bono Patientiae* in imitation of the treatise of Tertullian on the same subject; and without doubt also the *De Zelo et Liuore*."[k] Koch's studies, however, aimed to extend and substantiate the investigation of Brunner who found it more closely associated with the *De Lapsis* and *De Unitate,* and consequently connected rather with the Carthaginian and Roman schisms and not at all with the baptismal controversy. Koch concluded that nothing supports the later date usually given, late 256 or early 257, except the position in Pontius' series of questions of the sentence: Who was there to check with the sweetness of a salutary remedy the bitter feeling which springs from the malignity of venomous envy? The Cheltenham list of the canonical books of the Old and New Testament and of the writings of Cyprian is not in accord with this, however. Here in fact it follows the *De Unitate,* as Koch would have it.[l]

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[i] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen,* p. 148.

[j] Cf. Bayard, *Le latin de Saint Cyprien,* pp. 318 ff.

As a pastoral instruction it is, of course, admirably adapted to human needs at almost any time or place. Although not especially original, and even a trifle thin in invention, its arguments are direct and conclusive; the skillful piling up of familiar but apt illustrations and Scripture texts, informed with the persuasive eloquence and paternal tenderness of the Bishop—especially if just shortly returned to his flock after the stormy period of persecution—doubtless gave its lesson both power and appeal.[m] The vivid descriptions of the physical effects of envy and jealousy, even though unconscious reminiscences of Seneca, Horace, or Ovid, suggest that they were based on personal observation of the bitter assailants whom Cyprian met face to face, and that they were not imaginative pictures of an unseen opponent in distant Rome; they thus strengthen the probability that this treatise was prompted by the Carthaginian and Roman schism in Carthage and was written, as Koch suggests, before the second half of 251 or 252.

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[k] Cf. Bayard, *Tertullien et Saint Cyprien,* p. 19.

[l] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen,* pp. 132-136.

[m] Cf. Moricca, p. 479.

B. COMMENTARY

INORGANIC NATURE

The Heavens and Heavenly Bodies

Sun, Moon, Stars; Day and Night

The sun dominating the heavens, shedding beneficent light and warmth, cherishing life, fostering growth is usually assigned the first place and the most glorious role in any descriptive passage in which more than one phase of nature is involved. Of these eight treatises five contain at least one such illustrative passage. The one passage of this sort in *De Habitu Virginum* may be considered the exception which proves the rule.[1] It begins with the Scriptural admonition to gather together possessions but rather those of heaven where no thief digs them up or robber bursts in, where their fruits would be free from all contact of earthly injury, and where rust would not harm—here *ubi nec rubigo adterat;* usually in this context Cyprian's Biblical quotation reads *comestura* for rust. It would seem that the secondary meaning of rust, a blight on the fruits of the field, shifted his thought to other dangers which impair the value of grain heaped under the open sky for instead of the customary references to moth, he adds: there the hail does not slash nor the sun scorch nor the rains corrupt (*nec grando caedat nec sol urat nec pluuia corrumpat*). Incidentally note the characteristic anaphora, polysyndeton, and end rime even though the clauses seem added haphazardly and in no logical order. Here alone are the sun and rain considered agents of harm rather than of good. The stormy star is mentioned in a more carefully constructed sentence of the *De Lapsis*. Four *quod's,* riming nouns in *-ibus* and *-tas* balance four verbs in *-unt* closing two short and

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DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[1] 11.195.12 possessiones tibi sed caelestes magis conpara,
ubi fructus tuos iuges ac perennes
et ab omni contactu iniuriae saecularis inmunes
nec rubigo adterat
nec grando caedat
nec *sol urat*
nec pluuia corrumpat.

two long clauses: Those who are over lenient to the lapsed in this are what hail is to the corn, what the stormy star is to the tree, what the pestilential devastation is to the herds, what the fierce tempest is to the vessels. They snatch away the solace of hope; they tear up from the root; they creep in with morbid speech unto deadly contagion; they dash the ship on the rock lest it come safe to port.[2] In the *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* we find an unusually beautiful simile—worth treating here as a unit, though repeated in part in the other sections—illustrating the unity of the Church: There is one Church which is spread abroad far and wide into a multitude by the increase of her fruitfulness, just as there are many rays of the sun but one light, and many branches of a tree but one trunk deep lodged in its tenacious root, and while many streams flow from a single fountainhead, although the multiplicity of waters is seen streaming away in the bounty of an overflowing abundance, yet the unity is preserved in the source. Part a ray of the sun from its orb, its unity does not suffer a division of light; break a bough off a tree, once broken it can bud no more; cut off a stream from its head-spring, when cut off it dries up. So too the Church, flooded with the light of the Lord, flings forth her rays throughout the whole world; yet it is one light which is everywhere diffused, nor is the unity of her body infringed. She spreads out her branches throughout the universal earth in the richness of her fertility; she broadens ever more widely her bounteously flowing streams. Yet is there one head, and one source, and one mother rich in ever-succeeding fruitfulness. Of her are we born, on her milk are we nourished, by her spirit are we animated.[3]

DE LAPSIS

[2] 16.249. 3 hoc sunt eiusmodi lapsis quod grando frugibus,
quod *turbidum sidus* arboribus,
quod armentis pestilens uastitas,
quod nauigiis saeua tempestas.
solacium spei adimunt,
a radice subuertunt,
sermone morbido ad letale contagium serpunt,
nauem scopulis ne in portum perueniat inlidunt.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[3] 5.214. 2 ecclesia una est
quae in multitudinem latius incremento fecunditatis extenditur,

Even in translation the balance and harmony are apparent. Only by examining the Latin excerpt, however, can one appreciate the care with which the Bishop utilized all the devices of his art in polishing his tribute to the Church he loved. In this instance not the vocabulary but its use is poetic.

In the *De Dominica Oratione,* that we ought properly be like our Father God who makes His sun to rise on the good and the bad, is but Scripture.[4] Since Christ came to teach us we ought to profit by His example and if He, going up into the mountain, spent the whole night in prayer, how much more ought we keep vigil at night in multiplying prayers, and pray for all alike that God's

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quomodo *solis multi radii* sed *lumen unum,*
et rami arboris multi sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum,
et cum de fonte uno riui plurimi defluunt,
numerositas licet diffusa uideatur exundantis copiae largitate,
unitas tamen seruatur in origine.
auelle *radium solis* a corpore,
diuisionem *lucis* unitas non capit:
ab arbore frange ramum,
fractus germinare non poterit:
(Cf. Seneca De Benef. 29. 5).
a fonte praecide riuum,
praecisus arescit.
sic et ecclesia Domini *luce perfusa* per orbem totum *radios suos* porrigit:
unum tamen *lumen* est quod ubique *diffunditur,*
nec unitas corporis separatur.
ramos suos in uniuersam terram copia ubertatis extendit,
profluentes largiter riuos latius pandit:
unum tamen caput est et origo una
et una mater fecunditatis successibus copiosa:
illius fetu nascimur,
illius lacte nutrimur,
spiritu eius animamur.

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[4] 17.279.18 merito et nos esse debemus patri Deo similes,
qui *solem* suum *oriri* facit super bonos et malos

will be done in them[5]—*uigilans . . . orabat . . . oratione . . . uigilare* link the night with Christ's "Watch and pray!" We ought also pray in the morning since the resurrection of the Lord is honored by a morning prayer. Likewise when the sun is setting and day departing it behooves us to pray again. For since Christ is the true Sun and true Day when the sun and day of the world depart and we pray and beseech that the light come upon us again, we are really praying that the coming of Christ bring us the grace of everlasting light. In the Scriptures likewise is He called the Sun of Justice. But if Christ is the true Sun and true Day, there is no hour of the day wherein we ought not adore God that we who are in Christ, that is in the true Sun and Day, may be instant in prayer the whole day through; and when by the law of the world the revolving night, recurring in alternate interchange, succeeds, there can be no loss from nocturnal shadows for those who are at prayer, because for the children of light there is day even during the nights. For when is he without light who has light in his heart? or when has he not the sun and day whose sun and day is Christ?[6]

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[5] 29.288.18 *exiuit in montem orare et fuit pernoctans in orationem Dei*
(Cf. Luke 6. 12). . . .
et si ille per *totam noctem* iugiter uigilans
continuis precibus orabat,
quanto nos magis in frequentanda oratione
debemus *nocte* uigilare!

[6] 35.292.24 *mane* orandum est, ut resurrectio Domini
matutina oratione celebretur.
quod olim Spiritus sanctus designabat in psalmis dicens:
rex meus et Deus meus, quoniam ad te orabo, Domine, mane:
et exaudies uocem meam, mane adstabo tibi et uidebo te . . .
(Cf. Ps. 5. 3-6).
recedente item *sole* ac *die cessante*
necessario rursus orandum est.
nam quia Christus *sol uerus* est et *dies uerus,*
sole ac die saeculi recedente
quando oramus et petimus ut super nos lux denuo ueniat,
Christi precamur aduentum lucis aeternae gratiam praebiturum. . . .
item quod *sol* appellatus sit Malachin propheta testatur dicens:
uobis autem qui timetis nomen Domini orietur sol iustitiae,
et in alis eius curatio est (Cf. Mal. 4. 2).

We who are in Christ ought not to cease from prayer by night; we should rather account night as day. There should be no loss of prayer during nocturnal hours since, destined in the kingdom to have day alone without the intervention of night, we should watch by night just as by day.[7]

Repetitious as this seems, the thought merited an attention which one sentence would scarcely have secured; praying always, both day and night, will never be easy. It served also to establish this figure in ecclesiastical literature.[n] The chiastic *recedente sole*

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quodsi in scripturis sanctis *sol uerus* et *dies uerus* est *Christus,*
nulla hora excipitur christianis,
quominus frequenter ac semper Deus debeat adorari,
ut qui in Christo hoc est in *sole* et in *die* uero sumus
instemus per *totum diem* precibus et oremus:
et quando mundi lege *decurrens uicibus alternis*
nox reuoluta succedit,
nullum de nocturnis tenebris esse orantibus damnum potest,
quia filiis lucis et in *noctibus dies* est.
quando enim sine *lumine* est cui *lumen* in corde est?
aut quando *sol* ei et *dies* non est cui *sol* et *dies* Christus est?

[7] 36.293.25 Qui autem in Christo hoc est in lumine semper sumus
nec *noctibus* ab oratione cessemus. . . .
nos, fratres dilectissimi, qui in Domini luce semper sumus, . . .
computemus *noctem* pro *die*. . . .
nulla sint *horis nocturnis* precum damna,
nulla orationum pigra et ignaua dispendia. . . .
habituri in regno sine *interuentu noctis solum diem*
sic *nocte* quasi in *luce* uigilemus,

[n] Cf. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* V (1936), pp. 29 ff. The article under the general title "Lumen Christi" quotes *De Dominica Oratione* 35. For the title of Christ as day Cyprian used the Psalm 117.24, *haec dies,* and for Christ as the sun he cites the text of Malachy 4.2. It is not clear whether Cyprian was thinking of definitely formulated morning and evening prayer but we see that the thanks to Christ spring from the neverlost light and the sun without an evening. The spiritually enlightened Cyprian realized that even in the night we should pray for even in the night Christ is the sun and the day. (Cf. also *Sol Salutis,* pp. 364 ff. and 379 ff.) What Cyprian says about our praying in evening prayer that light may come upon us again Prudentius has expressed in his *Cathemerinon* 5.1-4.

Inventor rutili, dux bone, luminis,
qui certis vicibus tempora dividis,
merso sole chaos ingruit horridum,
lucem redde tuis, Christe, fidelibus!

ac die cessante and *decurrens uicibus alternis nox reuoluta succedit* present sunset and nightfall with a poetical color which is surprisingly lacking in any aid from the spectrum.

To give alms to any who are in need, according to the *De Opere et Eleemosynis,* is to imitate the heavenly equity of God the Father since the whole human race equally enjoys the divine goodness and bounty. So equally the day illumines, the sun casts its rays, the rain moistens, the wind breathes, and for the sleeping there is one slumber, and the splendor of stars and the moon is common to all.[8] Brief as this simile is, it shows the verb rime so frequent in Cyprian's style; four two-word clauses showing asyndeton end with *luminat, radiat, rigat,* and *adspirat*—all more common to poetry than prose; *unus est* and *communis est* close two longer clauses in the same series, both surprisingly introduced by *et,* securing anaphora by polysyndeton and containing the only references to the splendor of the stars and to the moon. This series is noteworthy because it lists for us the natural elements which Cyprian considered beneficent gifts of God: two of the daytime, two indefinite, and two of the night, slumber being included.

The *De Bono Patientiae* illustrates almost the same attribute of God similarly but much more elaborately, in answer to the question: Of what sort and how great is the patience in God that, enduring most patiently the profane temples and earthen images and sacrilegious rites instituted by men in contempt of His majesty and honor, He makes the day spring forth and the light of the sun to arise equally on the good and the bad, and when He waters the

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DE OPERA ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[8] 25.393.22 hoc est natiuitate spiritali uere Dei filium fieri,
hoc est lege caelesti aequitatem Dei patris imitari.
quodcumque enim Dei est in nostra usurpatione commune est,
nec quisquam a beneficiis eius et muneribus arcetur
quominus omne humanum genus
bonitate ac largitate diuina aequaliter perfruatur.
sic aequaliter *dies luminat,*
sol radiat,
imber rigat,
uentus adspirat,
et dormientibus somnus unus est,
et *stellarum splendor* ac *luna* communis est.

earth with showers no one is excluded from His bounties but upon the just and unjust alike does He bestow indiscriminate rains. We see that with inseparable equality of patience for guilty and innocent, for religious and impious, for those who give thanks and the ungrateful, at the nod of God the seasons obey, the elements render service, the winds breathe, the fountains flow, the abundance of the harvests increases, the fruits of the vineyards mellow, the trees are loaded with fruits, the groves put forth their verdure, the meadows flower. . . .[9] Varying the usual Scripture passage where God makes the sun to rise and the rain to fall equally, *solem oriri* here becomes *diem nasci et lumen solis aboriri* and the Scriptural *pluit* is expanded to *cum imbribus terras rigat . . . indiscretas pluuias largiatur;* the Scriptural just and unjust become *nocentibus* and *innoxiis,* variations of the same root; *religiosis et impiis* reversing that order; and *gratias agentibus et ingratis* —again word-play involving similar roots. *Dei nutu* has a pagan sound, certainly, but none could doubt that Cyprian meant only to credit God's nod for all the benefits of nature: the seasons obey (*tempora obsequi*), the elements serve (*elementa famulari*). Be-

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DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[9] 4.399. 3 Qualis uero in Deo et quanta patientia, . . .
sacra sacrilega patientissime sustinens
super bonos et malos aequaliter facit
diem nasci et *lumen solis oboriri,*
et cum imbribus terras rigat,
nemo a beneficiis eius excluditur
quominus iustis similiter et iniustis
indiscretas pluuias largiatur.
uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae
nocentibus et innoxiis,
religiosis et impiis,
gratias agentibus et ingratis
Dei nutu tempora obsequi,
elementa famulari, (Cf. Tert. De Pat. 2)
spirare uentos,
fontes fluere,
grandescere copias messium,
fructus mitescere uinearum,
exuberare pomis arbusta,
nemora frondescere,
prata florere.

ginning with *elementa* three pairs of infinitive clauses appear in chiastic arrangement followed by a final pair in the same order; *fontes* and *fructus* begin two groups, *frondescere* and *florere* close the next and final pair showing a different sort of alliteration.

Another passage is found in the same treatise in which Christ's patient suffering during His passion and death is contrasted with His treatment by inhumanly cruel men and sympathetic nature. Parts of the comparison seem strained and overdrawn: Christ suffers the spittle of His insulters who but a short time before, with His spittle, formed eyes for the blind; He whose angels scourged the devil and his followers, now endures the scourge. He who crowns the martyrs with everlasting flowers, is crowned with thorns; He who awards true palms to the conquering, is smitten in the face with palms; He who robes others with the garment of immortality is despoiled of His earthly vesture; He who gives heavenly food is fed with gall; He who provides for us the cup of salvation is given vinegar to drink. He is judged who is one day to judge; the Word of God is led silent to the cross. Thus far man's inhumanity; now nature more truly humane: And when at the cross of the Lord the stars are confounded, the elements are disturbed, the earth quakes, night shuts out the day, the sun lest he be forced to look upon the crime of the Jews draws away his rays and his eyes—note the confusion and distress of nature in contrast to the silent, unchangeable patience of Christ—He speaks not, nor is moved, nor even in His very passion proclaims His majesty; even to the end perseveringly and ceaselessly all things are endured that there may be consummated in Christ full and perfect patience.[10] Here certainly nature is not only personified but made to surpass mankind in tender sympathy, with words that Vergil might well have used for a like purpose, showing more than a trace of the English Romanticist's "pathetic fallacy."

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[10] 7.402.21 et cum ad crucem Domini *confundantur sidera,*
elementa turbentur,
contremescat terra, *nox diem cludat,*
sol ne Iudaeorum facinus aspicere
cogatur *et radios et oculos suos*
subtrahat,
ille non loquitur
nec mouetur
nec maiestatem suam
sub ipsa saltim passione profitetur:

Light and Darkness, Day and Night, Clouds and Mist Metaphorical

Unquestionably Saint Cyprian loved the striking contrast between brilliant light and the dark shades of night. He seems to have used every possible combination of words in amazing variety and with subtle art skillfully turning what might easily have produced dull monotony into a shifting play of light as natural and beautiful as the ever-recurring alternation of dawn and day, of dusk and night.

Early in the *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* there is an extended contrast of Christ, the Light of the gentiles, and our relentless foe, the prince of darkness: Afterward light came to the gentiles and its saving gleam shone forth upon men to heal them; . . . those whom their enemy can not detain in the blindness of the old way he deceives by the winding of the new path; when they think they have drawn near the light and escaped from the night of the world he again casts other shadows about them so that though walking in darkness, they think they have the light; he transforms himself into an angel of light proclaiming night for day, death for salvation, antichrist under the name of Christ.[11] Yet it is impossible

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usque ad finem perseueranter
ac iugiter tolerantur omnia
ut consummetur in Christo
plena et perfecta patientia.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[11] 3.211. 9 postquam *lux* gentibus uenit
et sospitandis hominibus *salutare lumen effulsit,*
ut surdi auditum gratiae spiritalis admitterent,
aperirent ad Dominum oculos caeci,
infirmi aeterna sanitate reualescerent,
clodi ad ecclesiam currerent,
muti claris uocibus et precibus orarent, . . .
quos (inimicus) detinere non potest in uiae ueteris *caecitate*
circumscribit et decipit noui itineris errore.
rapit de ipsa ecclesia homines et,

for darkness to cohere and be united with light.[12] Faith grows bright with a revealing light;[13] illumined by the light of the Gospel, the victorious are made radiant with the pure and gleaming white splendor of the Lord;[14] we should let our light shine in good works and gleam so bright that itself may lead us to the splendor of everlasting glory from this night of earth.[15]

In the *De Lapsis* the Bishop rejoices at the surcease of persecution: When the storm of affliction is past and the cloud is scattered, tranquillity and serenity gleam forth. The long-desired day is come in answer to your prayers, and after the horrible and fearsome darkness of the long night the earth made radiant by the light of the Lord shines forth.[16] The shadowy gloom of fierce persecution,

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dum sibi adpropinquasse iam *lumini*
adque euasisse *saeculi noctem* uidentur,
alias nescientibus *tenebras* rursus *infundit,*
ut cum euangelio Christi et cum obseruatione eius et lege
non stantes christianos se uocent
et *ambulantes in tenebris* habere se *lumen* existiment
blandiente aduersario adque fallente,
qui secundum apostoli uocem transfigurat se uelut *angelum lucis*
et ministros subornat suos uelut ministros iustitiae
adserentes *noctem pro die,*
interitum pro salute, . . .
antichristum sub uocabulo Christi,

[12] 9.218. 4 cohaerere et coniungi non potest . . . *caligo cum lumine,*

[13] 10.218.17 dum corda et mentes nostras ueritatis discrimen examinat,
probatorum fides integra *manifesta luce clarescat.*

[14] 22.230.10 uero *inluminati euangelii lumine,*
pura et candida Domini *luce radiati*
tam sunt in conseruanda Christi pace laudabiles
quam fuerunt in diaboli congressione uictores.

[15] 27.233. 8 *luceat* in bonis operibus *nostrum lumen* et *fulgeat,*
ut ipsum nos ad *lucem claritatis aeternae*
de hac *saeculi nocte* perducat.

DE LAPSIS

[16] 1.237. 5 *nube* discussa tranquillitas ac serenitas *refulserunt* . . .
exoptatus uotis omnibus *dies uenit*
et post *longae noctis horribilem taetramque caliginem*
Domini luce radiatus mundus *eluxit.*

however, ought not to have blinded the mind and heart so that nothing remained of the light and brightness whence the divine teachings can be perceived.[17] When the weak and fearful Christians hastened eagerly to offer sacrifice did their steps totter, their countenance grow dark?[18] Such is the power, such the majesty of the Lord that under His light the secrets of darkness are uncovered; hidden crimes deceive not the priest of God.[19] A woman who had committed frightful sacrilege and yet persisted in her personal adornment is asked whether at the loss of a beloved friend she would not mourn with disordered countenance and beclouded visage.[20]

In the *De Dominica Oratione:* Christ comes Himself that we who had been straying in the shadows of death, unseeing and blind, illumined by the light of grace, may keep to the way of life.[21] In St. Matthew we read: *The children of the kingdom shall be cast into exterior darkness,*[22] and through Osee the Lord says: *At dawn they will rise to me saying: Come and let us return to the Lord our God*—the Vulgate has *mane* instead of Cyprian's *diluculo.* Because Christ is the true Sun and true Day, when the sun and day of earth are receding and we pray and beg that the light come down upon us anew, we are praying that the coming of Christ will bring us the grace of eternal light; . . . to the children of light even in the night hours there is day. When is he without light who has light in his heart? or when is there no sun nor day for him who has Christ for his sun and day?[23] But we who are ever in Christ, that is, in the light should cease not from prayer even during the nights. The widow Anna by fasting and prayers served day and night. Let gentiles consider this who are not yet illumined or Jews who abandoned by the light have remained in darkness, but we who are ever in the light of the Lord . . . should account night for day. Let us believe that we are walking ever in the light, let us not be impeded by the shadows which we have escaped.[24] Some overlapping with reality is inevitable here, since in several passages both real and metaphorical light and darkness are involved.

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[17] 5.240. 3 Habenda tamen est, fratres dilectissimi, ratio ueritatis
nec sic mentem debet et sensum
persecutionis infestae *tenebrosa caligo caecasse,*
ut nihil remanserit *lucis et luminis,*
unde diuina praecepta perspici possint.

[18] 8.242.21 labauit gressus, *caligauit* aspectus,

[19] 25.255.22 tanta est potestas Domini, tanta maiestas:
secreta tenebrarum sub eius *luce* detecta sunt,
sacerdotem Dei nec *occulta crimina* fefellerunt.

[20] 30.259.21 ingemesceres dolenter et fleres, facie inculta, . . . *uulto nubilo*

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[21] 1.267.10 (Christus) ipse ueniens . . . ut qui in *tenebris mortis* errant
inprouidi et caeci prius fuimus
luce gratiae luminati iter uitae duce et rectore Domino tene
remus.

[22] 13.276.15 *filii autem regni expellentur in tenebras exteriores:*
illic erit ploratio et stridor dentium (Cf. Matt. 8. 12).

In *De Opere et Eleemosynis* Isaias is quoted promising those who do the works of mercy: *Then shall thy timely light break forth*[25]—*temporaneum* of Cyprian's Bible, used only to modify rain in the Vulgate, becomes *quasi mane* for Jerome. Tabitha because of her charity is rewarded by being freed from death even in this world; in this dramatic account of St. Peter's miracle a curious paraphrase appears: the body revivified is given breath anew for this light of the world.[26] Some there are in the Church whose closed ears and blinded hearts admit no light from spiritual and saving admonitions.[27] Wherefore do you spread abroad shadows and tricks of vain excuse? Shades of barrenness beset your mind, and as the light of truth departs the deep and dense fog of avarice has blinded your carnal heart.[28] Eyes circled with black, covered with shadows and night, see not the poor.[29] With what argument do we defend the minds of the rich utterly shrouded by the night shades of darkness?[30] So by patience do we become perfect sons of God if the divine likeness which Adam lost by sin be made clear and shine forth in our deeds.[31]

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[23] 35.293. 1 per prophetam loquitur Dominus:
diluculo uigilabunt ad me dicentes:
eamus et reuertamur ad Dominum Deum nostrum
(Cf. Osee 6. 1). . . .
quia Christus sol uerus est de dies uerus,
sole ac die saeculi recedente
quando oramus et petimus ut super nos *lux* denuo ueniat,
Christi precamur aduentum *lucis aeternae gratiam* praebiturum.
. . .
filiis lucis et in noctibus dies est.
quando enim sine *lumine* est cui *lumen* in corde est?
aut quando sol ei et dies non est cui sol et dies Christus est?

[24] 36.293.25 Qui autem in Christo hoc est in *lumine* semper sumus
nec noctibus ab oratione cessemus. . . .
uiderint uel gentiles qui necdum *inluminati* sunt
uel Iudaei qui deserti *lumine* in *tenebris* remanserunt:
nos, fratres dilectissimi, qui in *Domini luce* semper sumus,
qui meminimus et tenemus
quid esse accepta gratia coeperimus,
conputemus noctem pro die.
ambulare nos credamus semper in *lumine,*
non impediamur a *tenebris* quas euasimus,

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[25] 4.376. 8 *frange esurienti panem tuum*
et egenos sine tecto induc in domum tuam.
si uideris nudum, uesti
et domesticos seminis tui non despicies.
tunc erumpet temporaneum lumen tuum (Cf. Isa. 58. 7, 8).

Usually *lux* is the splendor which shines forth in its own radiance, as the light of the sun, while *lumen* is a reflection or agent of that glory; so *lux* and *splendor diei* are used for the light of Christ, His gift of faith, His other divine graces, and His everlasting glory (*claritatis*); *lumen* is the light of the Gospel, of our own good works, of the Church, of salvation, of truth, of peace and charity. In the *De Zelo et Liuore,* however, Cyprian quotes John 8. 12 as *Ego sum lumen mundi,*—the Vulgate has *lux mundi* as we should expect—and probably under the influence of a manuscript already lying open before him, either the Scriptures or his own *Testimonia,* he leads up to the text in the same words: The Apostle Paul teaching and counseling that we who, illumined by the light of Christ (*Christi lumine*), have escaped the shadows of a way of life that is of the night, should walk in the deeds and works of light, writes saying: *The night is passed, and the day is at hand. Let us therefore put off the works of darkness and put on the armour of light. Let us walk honestly, as in the day: not in contention and envy.* Thus prompted, Cyprian continues: If the dark shadows have withdrawn from your heart, if night has thence been dispelled, if the mist has been scattered, if the splendor of day has illumined your senses, if you have begun to be a man of light, do the things which are of Christ because Christ is the light and day.[32] Here Christ is *lux et dies* as usual. The five *si* clauses seem to represent the gradual progress of the soul from darkness to light ranging from *tenebrae* through *nox* which might be starlit at least; *caligo,* murkiness; *splendor diei,* brightness of sunlight; and finally *lux* which is Christ. Again he goes on in the same strain: Why do you rush into the shadows of jealousy, why do you envelop yourself in a cloud of envy, why do you ex-

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[26] 6.378.13 mors itaque suspenditur et spiritus redditur
et mirantibus ac stupentibus cunctis
ad *hanc mundi* denuo *lucem* rediuiuum corpus animatur.

[27] 12.383. 4 quales nunc in ecclesia quosdam uidemus
quorum praeclusae aures et *corda caecata*
nullum de spiritalibus ac salutaribus monitis *lumen* admittunt,

[28] 13.383.11 quid *umbras* et praestigias quasdam uanae excusationis obtendis?
. . .
obsederunt animum tuum *sterilitatis tenebrae*
et recedente inde *lumine ueritatis*
carnale pectus *alta et profunda auaritiae caligo caecauit.*

[29] 15.384.19 pauperem non uident oculi superfusi nigrore,
tenebris et nocte contecti.

[30] 23.391. 2 quadam *tenebrarum nocte coopertas* diuitum mentes
qua ratione defendimus?

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[31] 5.401. 1 si similitudo diuina quam peccato Adam perdiderat manifestetur
et *luceat* in actibus nostris.

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[32] 10.425.20 denique et apostolus Paulus instruens et monens,
ut qui *inluminati Christi lumine*
tenebras nocturnae conuersationis euasimus
in *factis adque in operibus luminis* ambulemus, scribit et dicit:
nox transiuit, dies autem adpropinquauit.
abiciamus ergo opera tenebrarum et induamus arma lucis.
tamquam in die decenter ambulemus
(Cf. Rom. 13. 12,13), . . .
si recesserunt de pectore tuo *tenebrae,*
si *nox* inde discussa est,
si *caligo* detersa est,
si *luminauit* sensus tuos *splendor diei,*
si *homo lucis* esse coepisti,
quae sunt Christi gere,
quia *lux et dies* Christus est.

tinguish all the light of peace and charity by the blindness of envy, why do you return to the devil whom you had renounced? For the Apostle John says in his epistle: . . . *He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now and walketh in darkness, and knoweth not whither he goeth; because the darkness hath blinded his eyes.* . . . He goeth unknowingly unto gehenna, ignorant and blind he is plunged headlong into punishment, departing forsooth from the light of Christ who admonishes saying: *I am the light of the world*[33]—here again Cyprian uses *Christi lumine* to correspond with the Gospel text.

In the *De Dominica Oratione* 36, a similar expression occurs: *Qui autem in Christo hoc est in lumine semper sumus.* Only once again, in the undated Epistle 63, is the text quoted and then with the variation: *Ego sum lumen saeculi* which seems to place it at some different period.

Koch's belief that, contrary to the traditional order based on Pontius, *De Zelo et Liuore* belongs not to the baptismal controversy, but to this early period just preceding the *De Dominica Oratione,*[o] might explain this coincidence while it substantiates his opinion.

Caligo referring to infidelity, the persecution, apostasy, jealousy and avarice; *uulto nubilo* and *nubilo liuoris,* beclouded countenance, and cloud of envy, are all popular figures but the combination *taetram caliginem* is cited only for Cicero.

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[33] 11.426. 6 Quid in zeli *tenebras* ruis,
quid te *nubilo liuoris* inuoluis,
quid inuidiae caecitate omne *pacis et caritatis lumen extinguis,* . . .
qui dicit se in luce esse et fratrem suum odit
in tenebris est usque adhuc et in tenebris ambulat
et non scit quo eat, quoniam tenebrae excaecauerunt oculos eius (Cf. 1 John 2. 9,11).
qui odit, inquit, fratrem suum in *tenebris* ambulat et non scit quo eat.
it enim nescius in gehennam, . . .
recedens scilicet a *Christi lumine* monentis et dicentis:
ego sum lumen mundi.
qui me secutus fuerit non ambulabit in tenebris
sed habebit lumen uitae (Cf. John 8. 12).

[o] Cf. Koch, *Cyprianische Untersuchungen,* p. 136.

Heaven and Heavenly, Earth and Earthly

The constant setting of heaven and earth in contrast as marked as that between light and darkness reveals the clarity with which Cyprian saw the irreconcilable conflict between them. Yet one gains deeper perception from examining what things are heavenly, and what things are earthly. *Caelestis* is used with promises, possessions, vigor, commands, teachings, sacraments, kingdom, way, food, crowns, reproof, voice, writings, adornment, doctrine, ourselves, bread, discipline, camp, thought, life, rewards, grace, work, patrimony, treasures, garments, banquet, law, Father, birth, sublimity, beings, honors, precepts, regeneration, image. In the treatises we have checked almost seventy-five occurrences of the adjective form—almost twice as many as those of *caelum* or *caeli*: the kingdom of our Father, the place whence Christ came, and to which we are going. Earth is represented with more variety in Latin though not much more frequently: *terrenus* occurs with attire, contagion, seasons, father, kingdom, lusts, desires, ourselves, captivity, pleasure, patrimony, possessions, gifts, vesture, honors, body—more than twenty-five times; *saecularis* with injury, attacks, kings, master, things, thought, life, charms, snares, food and drink—about half as often; *terrestris,* much less common, refers to things of earth, kingdom, gains, possessions, and all on earth who bow at the name of Christ. Earth or the world as *mundus* we use as though not using it, we are crucified to, we condemn, despise, love not, stay in, delight in, renounce, spurn, conquer, but we may also please God in this same world; *saeculum,* in about equal frequency, has its storms, sons, day, judge, ambition, waves, flattery, rich and its troubles, we may remain in it, avoid, prefer, renounce, be conquered by, serve in, seek to live long on, depart from, be patient in, have troubles on it; *terra,* much less often and seemingly under the influence of the Scriptural terminology of the Lord's Prayer; once *orbis terrae* and once *orbis terrarum* also from Scripture—altogether in the treatises earth and earthly have been noted nearly one hundred and fifty times;

heaven and heavenly only a trifle less frequently. In itself the number has little significance. There is no condemnation of the earth as God's creation, no spurning of the good things He has put here for our joy and sustenance. The earth which men are to renounce is the man-made world of evil desires and deeds, unchangeably opposed to God's will. Heaven and its King, our Father, is to be looked to for everlasting joy and recompense. The earth is indeed a way by which we must travel to heaven, but there is no command to close our eyes to its God-given beauty.[34]

The Four Elements

Earth

The marked difference in number and extent between the references to the real earth and those to earth in contrast with heaven is a striking proof of Saint Cyprian's preoccupation, not with the earth's physical properties and laws, but with the blessings enjoyed, the trials to be meritoriously endured through it. To humble the haughty daughters of Sion Isaias warns: *Instead of an odor of sweetness, there shall be dust*—in the Vulgate, *a stench.*[35] The supporters of Core, Dathan, and Abiron paid the penalty of their sacrilegious boldness when the earth bursting asunder opened its bosom to the depths, and the gaping mouth of the parted ground engulfed them as they stood there alive.[36] Since Christ called His disciples not earth but the salt of the earth and the Apostle describes the first man as of the slime of the earth but the second of heaven, like Him we ought also be like our Father God.[37] The foolish rich man considering his earthly abundance was reproached by God.[38] God also foretold earthquakes as well as wars, famines, and plagues, lest unexpected disaster appall His people.[39] Cyprian's Bible quotes Job saying: *Naked came I out of my mother's womb and naked also shall I go under the earth*—differing in the right direction from the Vulgate which concludes *return thither.* Of him also God testifies there is no one like him in all the lands.[40] In return for her charity to Elias, the widow of Sarepta's meal and oil were not to fail until God would give rain upon the earth[41]—the quoting of this incident to prove that God rewards charity is significant only because it implies a belief in God's personal direction of the elements. Insofar as a man who is a possessor of land shares his harvest returns with the brethren, he is an imitator of God the Father.[42] God's patience is proved by His tolerating images fashioned from earth and sacrilegious rites and yet excluding none from His benefits when he moistens the lands with showers.[43] At

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[34] Because of the great number of occurrences of these terms and the rather specialized interest attached to their use all the Latin excerpts from the three chapters which belong under this heading have been placed in an appendix.

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[35] 13.197. 1 *et erit pro odore suauitatis puluis* (Cf. Isa. 3. 24).

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[36] 18.226.12 Sic Core et Dathan et Abiron qui sibi contra Moysen et Aaron sacerdotem sacrificandi licentiam uindicare conati sunt
poenas statim pro suis conatibus pependerunt.
terra conpagibus ruptis in profundum *sinus* patuit,
stantes adque uiuentes *recedentis soli hiatus* absorbuit,

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[37] 17.279.16 nam cum discipuli ab eo iam non *terra* appellentur
sed sal *terrae*
et apostolus primum hominem uocet de *terrae limo,*
secundum uero de caelo,
merito et nos qui esse debemus patri Deo similes,

[38] 20.282. 3 diuitem stultum *saeculares copias* cogitantem . . .
redarguit Deus

DE MORTALITATE

[39] 1.297.20 bella et fames et *terrae motus* et pestilentias per loca singula
exurgere praenuntiauit et cecinit,

[40] 10.302.12 (Iob) ait: *nudus exiui de matris utero,*
nudus etiam ibo sub terram (Cf. Job 1. 21). . . .
Dominus Deus perhibet testimonium dicens: . . .
non enim est similis illi quisquam in terris (Cf. Job 1. 8).

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[41] 17.386.27 *fidelia farris non deficiet et capsaces olei non minuet*
usque in diem quo dabit Dominus imbrem super terram
(Cf. 3 Kings 17. 14).

[42] 25.393.29 quo aequalitatis exemplo qui possessor in *terris*
reditus ac fructus suos cum fraternitate partitur, . . .
Dei patris imitator est.

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[43] 4.399. 5 *terrena figmenta* et sacra sacrilega patientissime sustinens . . .
cum imbribus *terras* rigat,
nemo a beneficiis eius excluditur

the crucifixion the earth trembles violently[44]—*contremescat* not *mota est* as in St. Matthew's account. That Jacob departed from his own land patiently when put to flight by his brother[45] is cited as a noteworthy example of patience—suggesting how strong Cyprian considered the ties of love binding a man to his own land, and what his own enforced departures had meant. To know how we need patience in this world it is necessary to recall God's sentence which Adam received in the beginning of the world because of his transgression of the law: *Cursed shall be the earth in thy works.*[46]

This earth or land is always *terra* except in *origine mundi* which actually was not the beginning of the world but only of man's existence here. Only in the recounting of God's vindication of Moses is there anything of literary interest: *terra compagibus ruptis in profundum sinus patuit . . . recedente soli hiatus absorbuit.* In this as well as in *terra contremescat* there is personification.

Mountain, Rock and Stone

As in classic literature generally, references to mountains are infrequent. There is no adversion to their majestic beauty. From the old thought and figure that there is no easy ascent to great things, the Bishop draws encouragement for his virgins that they may persevere in their difficult life: What sweat, what toil do we endure when we are attempting to climb hills or mountain peaks! What then that we may ascend to heaven?[47] In the *De Unitate* mountain heights are implied in figure when confession of the faith is called but the beginning of glory; perseverance is necessary, and Cyprian says: Whatever is before the end is but the step by which one ascends to the summit of salvation, not the terminus where the supreme height is held.[48] Christ, of course, often went up into the mountain to pray.[49]

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[44] 7.402.21 ad crucem Domini . . . contremescat *terra,*

[45] 10.404. 7 Iacob fugatus a fratre de *terra sua* patienter excedit

[46] 11.404.25 Dei sententia cogitetur quam in *origine* statim *mundi* . . .
Adam praecepti inmemor et datae legis transgressor
accepit. . . .
maledicta terra erit in omnibus operibus tuis
(Cf. Gen. 3. 17).

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[47] 21.202.19 non est ad magna *facilis ascensus.*
quem sudorem perpetimur,
quem laborem,
dum conamur *ascendere colles et uertices montium?*
quid ut *ascendamus ad caelum?*

The rock, on the other hand, has its own Scriptural place; so the virgins are asked what we ought to desire more ardently than that, with our houses made firm upon the rock with its powerful mass, we may stand unshaken against the gales and storms of the world—*super petram robusta mole solidatis*.[50] In the *De Unitate,* with the change of only the last word of this participial phrase to *fundatos . . . inmobili et inconcussa firmitate solidatos,* we have Christ's description of His disciples, made strong with immovable and unshaken firmness against all the storms and whirlwinds of the world, like the wise man who built his house upon a rock.[51] Again quoting: The Lord says to Peter: *And I say to thee: That*

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[48] 21.228.18 quicquid ante finem fuerit gradus est
quo ad *fastigium salutis ascenditur,*
non terminus quo iam *culminis summa* teneatur.

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[49] 29.288.18 *exiuit in montem orare* (Luke 6. 12).

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[50] 2.188. 8 quid cupidius adpetere . . . nos conuenit,
quam ut . . . domiciliis nostris super *petram robusta mole* solidatis
inconcussi ad procellas et turbines saeculi stemus,

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[51] 2.210.15 hos (discipulos) denique fortes dicit et stabiles,
hos super *petram robusta mole fundatos,* Cf. 579.9.
hos contra omnes tempestates et turbines saeculi
inmobili et inconcussa firmitate solidatos.
qui audit, inquit, *uerba mea et facit ea,*
similabo eum uiro sapienti,
qui aedificauit domum suam super petram.
descendit pluuia, aduenerunt flumina, uenerunt uenti
et inpegerunt in domum illam:
et non cecidit.
fundata enim fuit super petram (Cf. Matt. 7. 24,25).

thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church.[52] The Christian whose firm faith and devout soul are unmoved by the dread plague, like a strong and steadfast rock, breaks the waves of the world and is not broken by them.[53] He does not, however, escape the common fate of all men: When craggy rocks shatter a vessel, shipwreck is common to all on board without exception.[54] Unlike *petra,* which for Cyprian always indicates a firm and trustworthy foundation, *scopulosa saxa* are a source of danger or destruction.

Stone is a symbol of Christ: *The stone which the builders rejected; the same is become the head of the corner.*[55] Stone is likewise a means of venting anger. When candidates for public office prepare a spectacle, unless a worthy display is provided, they are ejected with reviling and hisses, and sometimes almost stoned to death by the fury of the people.[56] Yet this outlay does no one any good. How many seeking divine favor show the like munificence, bestow such largess on the poor? Cyprian took this illustration from the Carthage of his day. Scripture, however, provided the next two: Moses was despised by an ungrateful and faithless people oftentimes, and well-nigh stoned by them, yet gentle and patient he prayed God for them.[57] Stephen also when he was being slain by the Jews with stones asked not vengeance for himself but pardon for his slayers—both affording examples of patience.[58]

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[52] 4.212. 8 loquitur Dominus ad Petrum: *ego tibi dico,* inquit,
quia tu es Petrus et super istam petram
aedificabo ecclesiam meam
(Cf. Matt. 16. 18).

14.222.14 *si habuero fidem ita ut montes transferam,*
caritatem autem non habeam, nihil sum
(Cf. I Cor. 13. 2):

DE MORTALITATE

[53] 1.297. 2 Etsi aput plurimos uestrum . . . mens solida est et fides firma
et anima deuota quae ad praesentis mortalitatis copiam non mouetur,
sed tamquam *petra fortis et stabilis*
turbidos impetus mundi et uiolentos saeculi fluctus frangit

[54] 8.301.23 cum nauem *scopulosa saxa* confringunt,
nauigantibus naufragium sine exceptione commune est,

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[55] 35.293. 9 *lapis,* inquit, *quem reprobauerunt aedificantes*
hic factus est in caput anguli (Cf. Ps. 117. 22).

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[56] 22.390.14 ac nisi editio honesta successerit,
conuiciis ac sibilis eiciuntur
et furore populari nonnumquam paene *lapidantur.*

Fastigium salutis and *culminis summa* are original terms for the heavenly heights, and *scopulosa saxa* illustrates a noun modified by an adjective with almost identical meaning. Although brief the two passages referring to mountains are adorned with the usual stylistic art.

Metals, Gold and Silver, Precious Stones

Metals as other things of earth are mentioned only in connection with man's use or abuse of them. Iron in the form of an executioner's sword, once endured, warrants a virgin's glorying in her flesh, and through it she may be crowned. Such means of torture are the precious jewels of the flesh, the better adornments of the body.[59] St. Paul admonishes women to array themselves modestly not with curled hair nor gold nor pearls, and St. Peter concurs in disapproving outer ornament or gold instead of adornment of the heart.[60] Peter also, although the head of the Church, protests that

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DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[57] 10.404.12 Moyses ab ingrato et a perfido populo contemnitur
frequenter et paene *lapidatur,*
et tamen lenis et patiens pro eisdem Dominum deprecatur.

[58] 16.408.21 quod factum uidemus in Stephano,
qui cum a Iudaeis ui et *lapidibus* necaretur,
non sibi uindictam sed interfectoribus ueniam postulabat

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[59] 6.192. 7 aut si carne sit gloriandum,
tunc plane quando . . . ignes aut cruces
aut *ferrum* aut bestias patitur ut coronetur.
illa sunt carnis *pretiosa monilia,*
illa corporis ornamenta meliora.

[60] 8.193.20 *sint,* inquit (Paulus), *mulieres cum verecundia et pudicitia*
conponentes se, non in tortis crinibus
neque auro neque margaritis
(Cf. 1 Tim. 2. 9)....
item Petrus ad haec eadem praecepta consentit et dicit:
sit in muliere non exterior ornamenti
aut auri aut uestis cultus sed cultus cordis
(Cf. 1 Peter 3. 3),

he has neither gold nor silver but that he is rich in the grace of Christ.[61] Treasures in heaven are safe from the rust which wears away[62]—whichever kind of rust Cyprian meant here. God indeed willed iron to exist for the cultivation of the earth; it does not follow that for that reason murders are to be committed with it.[63] The woman in the Apocalypse is adorned with gold and precious stones and pearls and holds a golden cup filled with malediction in her hand.[64] Isaias chides the vain and haughty daughters of Sion, defiled by gold and raiment, ingeniously adorned, wearing silks woven with gold and hyacinth and he threatens that instead of golden ornament for their heads they shall have baldness; Cyprian continues that though thus adorned with gold and pearls and precious stones, the virgins of Carthage have lost the adornments of heart and soul.[65] God never made necklaces of precious stones set in gold, or of pearls arranged in chains with numerous joinings wherewith to hide the neck He created. It is doubtful that God ever willed wounds to be made in an infant's ears, so that later from the holes pierced through them, precious stones might hang.[66] Therefore he bids his virgins not to confine their arms and neck with costly chains of bracelets and necklaces, to let their feet free from golden fetters, and finally, to conquer gold since they are conquering the flesh and the world.[67] From all this in the *De Habitu Virginum,* one might almost conclude that it was predominantly women's use and abuse of these metals and stones with which the Bishop was concerned. It is precisely in this material, however, that Tertullian had made his largest contribution supported by the Sacred writers, and Cyprian least responsible.

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[61] 10.194.25 Petrus etiam, . . . super quem posuit et fundauit ecclesiam,
aurum quidem sibi esse et *argentum* negat.
sed esse se dicit Christi gratia diuitem,

[62] 11.195.12 possessiones tibi sed caelestes magis conpara, ubi fructus tuos . . .
nec *rubigo adterat*

[63] 11.195.18 *ferrum* esse ad culturam terrae Deus uoluit,
nec homicidia sunt idcirco facienda:

[64] 12.196. 8 *mulier illa amicta erat pallium purpureum et coccineum*
et adornata erat auro et lapidibus pretiosis et margaritis,
tenens poculum aureum in manu sua
plenum exsecrationum et inmunditiae
et fornicationis totius terrae
(Cf. Apoc. 17. 4).

[65] 13.196.15 Clamat etiam Spiritu sancto plenus Esaias
et filias Sion *auro* et ueste corruptas increpat. . . .
et auferet Dominus gloriam uestis illarum et ornamenta earum
et crines et cincinnos et lunulas et discrimen et armillas
et botronatum et dextralia et anulos et inaures
et serica contexta cum auro et hyacintho. . . .
et pro ornamento capitis aureo caluitium habebis
(Cf. Isa. 3. 18-24). . . .
auro et *margaritis* et monilibus adornatae
ornamenta cordis ac pectoris perdiderunt.

Voicing his grief over the dismemberment of his flock by the numbers who yielded to the persecutors, the Bishop asks who could be so hard and iron-hearted as to stand viewing the remnants and keep his eyes dry.[68] While peace was still unbroken before the edict of Decius, very many bishops yearned to possess silver abundantly even though the brethren in the church were hungering.[69] The Christian will know that he must suffer more than others on earth since he must struggle more in his conflict with the devil, for gold and silver are tried in the fire.[70] This fire-tried gold the rich are urged to buy from Christ by their almsgiving, so that when their sins have been burned away as by fire they may be clean gold.[71] The precious pearl that is life eternal, precious with the blood of Christ, a seeker of heavenly grace and eternal salvation ought to purchase at the cost of his entire patrimony, like the merchant in the Gospel.[72] Finally, how destructive a rust of the soul is it, to be jealous of either virtue or happiness in another![73]

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[66] 14.197.17 Neque enim Deus . . . distinctis *auro lapillis* aut *margaritis*
contexta serie et numerosa conpage digestis *monilia* instituit,
quibus ceruicem quam fecit absconderet,
an uulnera inferri auribus Deus uoluit, . . .
ut postea de aurium cicatricibus et cauernis *pretiosa grana*
dependeant,

[67] 21.202. 1 non inferantur auribus uulnera,
nec brachia includat aut colla
de armillis et monilibus *catena pretiosa:*
sint a *compedibus aureis* pedes liberi . . .
uince *aurum* quae carnem uincis et saeculum.

DE LAPSIS

[68] 4.239.17 quis enim sic durus ac *ferreus,* . . .
qui . . . constitutus siccos oculos tenere praeualeat

[69] 6.240.25 episcopi plurimi . . . esurientibus in ecclesia fratribus
habere *argentum* largiter uelle,

DE MORTALITATE

[70] 9.302. 1 christianus . . . sciet plus sibi quam ceteris
in saeculo laborandum,
cui magis sit cum diaboli inpugnatione luctandum.

Highways and Byways

The lure of the high road leading to success or adventure, and the dread of the bypath, beset by dangers, are apparent in the frequent use of this metaphor. The virgins are told: Discipline, leader of the saving journey, makes us arrive at heavenly promises and divine rewards.[74] Strait and narrow is the way which leads

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docet et praemonet scriptura diuina dicens: . . .
in dolore sustine et in humilitate tua patientiam habe,
quoniam in igne probatur aurum et argentum
(Eccli. 2. 4, 5).

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[71] 14.384. 5 *suadeo tibi emere a me aurum ignitum de igni ut sis diues*
(Cf. Apoc. 3. 18), . . .
qui ergo locuples et diues es eme tibi a Christo *aurum ignitum,*
ut sordibus tuis tamquam igne decoctis esse *aurum mundum* possis,
si eleemosynis et iusta operatione purgeris.

[72] 7.379. 8 item alio loco negotiatorem caelestis gratiae
et comparatorem salutis aeternae
distractis omnibus rebus suis
pretiosam margaritam hoc est uitam aeternam
Christi cruore pretiosam
de quantitate patrimonii sui dicit debere mercari.
simile est, inquit, *regnum caelorum homini negotianti*
quaerenti bonas margaritas.
ubi autem inuenit pretiosam margaritam,
abiit et uendidit omnia quae habuit et emit illam
(Cf. Matt. 13. 45,46).

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[73] 7.423.17 pectoris quanta *rubigo* (est animae) zelare in altero
uel uirtutem eius uel felicitatem

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[74] 1.187. 2 Disciplina custos spei, . . . dux *itineris salutaris,* . . .
facit . . . ad promissa caelestia et diuina praemia *peruenire.* . . .
continete disciplinam ne forte . . . pereatis a uia recta
(Cf. Ps. 2. 12),

to life, hard and steep the path which leads to glory; through this pathway the martyrs set out, the virgins go, all the just walk. Avoid the broad and spacious roads; there are lethal allurements and death-bringing pleasures; there the devil flatters to deceive, smiles to injure, entices to kill.[75] In the *De Unitate:* Example was given us to flee the way of the old man, and press on in the footsteps of the conquering Christ lest being unwary we slip back into the snare of death. . . . His walking will not lead to salvation who does not keep the truth of the saving way.[76] Those whom the devil cannot detain in the way of old blindness, he compasses and deceives by the winding of a new journey.[77] To prophesy and to cast out demons and to do great wonders on earth is undoubtedly a sublime and admirable thing; yet not everyone who is found in all these things gains the heavenly kingdom unless he walk in the observance of the straight and just road.[78] Free your vagrant steps from errors; recognize the direct road of the heavenly way; it is necessary to withdraw from evildoers, nay more, flee them lest while one is joined to those walking through roads of error and guilt, straying from the way of the true road, he himself be caught by an equal crime.[79] Addressing the glorious confessors in the *De Lapsis,* the Bishop rejoices: There is besides a multitude of the upright, following your glory and accompanying your footsteps with insignia of honor almost conjoined.[80] The lapsed, on the other hand, are warned: *They that call thee blessed, the same deceive thee, and destroy the way of thy steps,*[81] and are asked: Why do not blind eyes see the path of penance which we show you?[82] Gospel precepts are rudder and helm for directing your course which leads docile minds to celestial realms. God has said much through the prophets, but how much greater those things which His Son speaks, no longer bidding that a way be prepared for one to come, but coming Himself, opening and showing us the way that we who stray in the shadows of death, illumined by the light of grace, may keep to the road of life with the Lord as our leader and guide.[83] Also of necessity the Lord admonished us to say in prayer: *and suffer us not to be led into temptation. . . .* For unless God permit, our adversary has no power against us: *Who hath given Jacob for a spoil and Israel to those who robbed him? Was it not the Lord himself, against whom they have sinned and would not walk in his ways nor hearken to his law, who hath poured out upon them the indignation of his fury?* And again when Solomon sinned and departed from the precepts and ways of the Lord, it was set forth: *And the Lord raised up* (*Satan*) *an adversary against Solomon.*[84] The Lord taught us to pray by the testimony of His own example, as it is written: *And he retired into the desert, and prayed.*[85] In that we die now, by death we travel to immortality. . . . This is not a departure but a transition, and after the journey of time has been completed a crossing over

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[75] 21.202. 9 *arta et angusta est uia* quae *ducit ad uitam,*
durus et arduus limes qui *tendit ad gloriam.*
per hunc *uiae limitem* martyres *pergunt,*
eunt uirgines,
iusti quique *gradiuntur.*
lata et spatiosa itinera uitate: (Cf. Matt. 7.13,14).
letales illic inlecebrae et mortiferae uoluptates:
illic diabolus blanditur ut fallat,
adridet ut noceat,
inlicit ut occidat.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[76] 2.210. 8 Unde nobis exemplum datum est *ueteris hominis uiam* fugere,
uestigiis Christi uincentis insistere,
ne denuo incauti in *mortis laqueum* reuoluamur . . .
nec ambulando proficiet ad salutem
qui *salutaris uiae* non tenet ueritatem.

[77] 3.211.17 quos detinere non potest in *uiae ueteris caecitate*
circumscribit et decipit *noui itineris errore*

[78] 15.223.17 Nam et prophetare et daemonia excludere
et uirtutes magnas in terris facere
sublimis utique et admirabilis res est,
non tamen regnum caeleste consequitur quisque in his omnibus inuenitur,
nisi *recti et iusti itineris* obseruatione *gradiatur.*

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[79] 23.230.21 *uagantes gressus* ab erroribus liberate,
iter rectum uiae caelestis adgnoscite. . . .
recedendum est a delinquentibus uel immo fugiendum,
ne dum quis male *ambulantibus* iungitur
et per *itinera erroris et criminis graditur,*
a *uia ueri itineris exerrans* pari crimine et ipse teneatur.

DE LAPSIS

[80] 2.238.14 nec non et cetera stantium multitudo uestram gloriam sequitur,
. . .
paene coniunctis laudis insignibus *uestigia* uestra comitatur.

[81] 14.247. 9 *qui uos felices dicunt in errorem uos mittunt*
et semitam pedum uestrorum turbant (Cf. Isa. 3. 12),

[82] 23.254. 7 quid caeci oculi *paenitentiae iter* non uident quod ostendimus?

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[83] 1.267. 2 Euangelica praecepta, fratres dilectissimi, nihil sunt aliud
quam magisteria diuina,
fundamenta aedificandae spei,
firmamenta conroborandae fidei,
nutrimenta fouendi cordis,
gubernacula dirigendi itineris,
praesidia obtinendae salutis,
quae dum docibiles credentium mentes in terris instruunt,
ad caelestia regna perducunt.

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multa et per prophetas seruos suos dici Deus uoluit et audiri:
sed quanto maiora sunt quae filius loquitur, . . .
non iam mandans ut *paretur uenienti uia*
sed ipse ueniens et *uiam* nobis *aperiens* et *ostendens,*
ut qui in tenebris mortis *errantes*
inprouidi et caeci prius fuimus
luce gratiae luminati
iter uitae duce et rectore Domino *teneremus.*

[84] 25.285.25 Illud quoque necessarie monet Dominus ut in oratione dicamus:
et ne patiaris nos induci in temptationem
(Cf. Matt. 6. 13). . . .
quis dedit in direptionem Iacob
et Israel eis qui praedabantur illum?
nonne Deus cui peccauerunt
et nolebant in uiis eius ambulare neque audire legem eius,
et superduxit super eos iram animationis suae
(Cf. Isa. 42. 24)?
et iterum Salomone peccante
et a praeceptis adque a *uiis Domini recedente* positum est:
et excitauit Dominus Satanan ipsi Salomoni
(Cf. 3 Kings 11. 14).

[85] 29.288.16 *ipse autem fuit secedens in solitudines et adorans*
(Cf. Luke 5. 16),

to eternity.[86] What man who had been stationed abroad would not hasten to return to his native land? Why do we not hasten and run to see our land, to greet our parents?[87] Among other ways of discipline there are none by which our following of hope and faith is divinely directed to the attainment of rewards better than by following the Lord's precepts and by guarding patience with the greatest care.[38] But if we are in Christ, if we put on Christ, if He Himself is the way of our salvation, let us who follow Christ in His saving footsteps walk by the example of Christ.[89] In his epistle to the Galatians the Apostle admonishes that no one being impatient should fail in good works, that no one being drawn aside by temptations or overcome desist in the midst of his journey of praiseworthy and glorious deeds.[90] The Jewish people, impatient

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DE MORTALITATE

[86] 22.310.22 Quod interim morimur,
ad inmortalitatem *morte transgredimur*
nec potest uita aeterna *succedere,* nisi hinc contigerit *exire,*
non est *exitus* iste sed *transitus*
et *temporali itinere decurso* ad *aeterna transgressus.*

[87] 26.313.15 quis non *peregre* constitutus *properet* in patriam *regredi?* . . . —
quid non *properamus et currimus,* ut patriam nostram uidere,
ut parentes salutare possimus?

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[88] 1.397. 7 nec inuenio, fratres dilectissimi,
inter ceteras *disciplinae caelestis uias*
quibus ad consequenda diuinitus praemia
spei ac fidei nostrae secta dirigitur
quid magis sit uel utilius ad uitam
uel maius ad gloriam
quam ut qui praeceptis dominicis
obsequio timoris ac deuotionis innitimur
patientiam maxime tota obseruatione tueamur.

[89] 9.403.11 Quodsi et nos, fratres dilectissimi, in Christo sumus,
si ipsum induimus,
si ipse est *salutis nostrae uia,*
qui Christum *uestigiis salutaribus sequimur*
per Christi exempla *gradiamur,*

[90] 13.407. 7 admonet ne quis inpatiens in operatione deficiat,
ne quis temptationibus aut auocatus
aut uictus in medio *laudis et gloriae itinere* desistat

during Moses' conference with God, dared demand an ox's head, and an earthen image to call them the leaders of their journey.[91] The virtue of patience as a spring in overflowing streams is poured forth through many paths of glorious deeds. . . . It directs our conduct itself that we may be able to keep the way of Christ while we walk in accord with His forbearance.[92] *He that hateth his brother walketh in darkness and knoweth not whither he goeth,* but he is following Christ, who treads in His commands, who walks in the way of His teaching who follows His footsteps and journeyings, who imitates what Christ both taught and did. . . .[93] To put on the name of Christ, and not to go in the way of Christ, what is that but prevarication of the divine name, but desertion of the road of salvation?[94] Enter anew with saving steps into the path of life eternal, you who once were possessed by jealousy and envy.[95]

As usual when the subject of the figure is slighter than the lesson involved, there appears to have been conscious effort to compensate by stylistic adornment: balance, repetition, rime and poetic vocabulary. In the *De Habitu Virginum* 21, comment on a verse from St. Matthew on the strait and narrow way is an example in point: *arta et angusta est uia quae ducit ad uitam* is paralleled by *durus et arduus limes qui tendit ad gloriam;* in *per hunc uiae limitem,* the noun is limited by a synonymous genitive; *martyres pergunt,* and *eunt uirgines* form a very simple chiasmus, with *iusti quique gradiuntur,* a third element, reversed again—the group showing varied verbs for go; in *lata et spatiosa itinera uitate, letales illic inlecebrae* the l-sounds increase the allure; the intrusion of *illic* causes hyperbaton. *Illic*—note anaphora—*diabolus blanditur ut fallat,* adds more l-sounds to lull vigilance to sleep, and is followed by two more clauses with asyndeton to complete the parison: *adridet ut noceat, inlicit ut occidat.* The virgins to whom this admonition was addressed were hardly aware of the rhetorical skill involved; they very probably felt its appeal the more strongly for its presence.

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[91] 19.411. 7 *itineris sui* duces nuncuparet caput bubulum
et terrestre figmentum,

[92] 20.411.23 (patientiae uirtus) exundantibus uenis
per multa *gloriarum itinera* diffunditur . . .
ipsa actum dirigit, ut tenere possimus *uiam Christi,*
dum per eius tolerantiam *gradimur.*

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[93] 11.426.16 qui odit, inquit, fratrem suum in *tenebris ambulat*
et non scit quo *eat.* . . .
sequitur autem Christum qui praeceptis eius insistit,
qui per *magisterii eius uiam graditur,*
qui *uestigia eius adque itinera sectatur,*
qui id quod Christus et docuit et fecit
imitatur

[94] 12.427. 6 Christi nomen induere et non per Christi *uiam* pergere
quid aliud quam praeuaricatio est diuini nominis,
quam desertio *itineris salutaris?*

[95] 17.431. 9 qui fueras zelo et liuore possessus . . .
ad *uiam uitae aeternae uestigiis salutaribus* reformare.

A glance at the Latin excerpts shows that this care is quite general in each of them. The nouns: *error, iter, limes, semita*—in Scripture only, *uestigium,* and *uia* are supplemented by far more numerous verbs to present a vivid picture of travel. One bit of word-play in *De Bono Patientiae* 1 introduces the noun *secta* in such context that "following," its primary meaning, seems the most fitting translation for the metaphor; that is, with *uias* and *dirigitur,* "following" sounds more pertinent than our modern word "sect," which is quite in accord with the thought.

Water

Sea and Navigation

A man need be neither sailor, nor experienced voyager to avail himself of the old yet ever picturesque language of the sea to suggest violence or unrest. The problems which faced the Bishop of Carthage on his return to the city at the cessation of the Decian persecution were well calculated to make him fear erring either on the side of leniency or of severity toward the lapsed. While he rejoiced in the heroic virtue of numerous martyrs and confessors, he was deeply grieved by the defection of an even greater number who had apostatized; fluctuating on the changeful tide of feeling (*fluctuans vario mentis aestu*),[96] he describes himself. A strikingly

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DE LAPSIS

[96] 4.239.12 quid hoc loco faciam, dilectissimi fratres,
fluctuans uario mentis aestu quid aut quomodo dicam?

similar phrase describes an infant girl presented by her nurse to the pagan magistrates and given some of the sacrificial bread and wine without the knowledge of her parents; later when taken to church the babe was fearfully distressed by the prayer and petitions of the worshippers: now shaken with weeping, now tossed about fluctuating on the tide of feeling (*nunc ploratu concuti, nunc mentis aestu fluctuabunda iactari*).[97] When the Chalice was offered to all present including the child, she compressed her lips and resisted frantically. St. Cyprian, of course, explains that the child did not know or understand what had happened nor realize what prompted her to refuse the Chalice. He is intent on making the lapsed realize their unworthiness to receive the Sacrament until they have done adequate penance. That may explain his using the same words to describe his own troubled state of mind and that of a baby girl; it may also have been the natural tendency to echo a telling phrase. Having had the new word—*fluctuabundus*—coined in its favor, it would be less likely to suffer revision.

Elsewhere he says that the mercies of the over-lenient are to the lapsed what the fierce tempest is to sea-craft (*nauigiis*). With a half shift from simile to metaphor: they dash a ship on the rocks lest it come safely to port.[98] In the introduction of the *De Mortalitate,* the firm faith and devoted spirit of the faithful, unmoved by the number succumbing to the plague, are compared to a strong and firmly-fixed rock which breaks the turbulent attacks of the world and the violent waves of this life, and is not broken itself.[99] The servants of God are assured of peace when, withdrawn from the storms of this world, they have sought the harbor of their eternal abode and security.[100] All men share alike in natural calamities; as when rocky crags crash a ship, shipwreck is common to all on board without exception.[101] Virtue must be tried; as an old proverb has it: the pilot is to be recognized in a storm; in the battle line, the soldier is proved. Vain is the boast when there is no peril; the ship which has been made sturdy with stout joints is beaten by the waves, not bored or staved through (*pulsatur fluctibus nec foratur*—a very rare word).[102] The Bishop is impelled to preach publicly that the brethren are not to be noisily mourned when by the Lord's summons they have been freed from the world, since we know they are not lost but sent ahead; departing now, they but go before us; as those setting out, as voyagers are wont to be, they ought to be longed for, not lamented, lest the Christians belie their faith in eternal happiness before the pagans.[103] If when you were sailing, a turbulent and tempestuous storm more violently exciting the waves were to presage coming shipwreck, would you not more swiftly seek harbor?[104] Lo, the world is tottering and collapsing, and you are not thanking God that, withdrawn by an earlier departure, you are being removed from ruin and shipwrecks and imminent disasters! Who after being stationed abroad would not hasten to return to his native land? Who when in haste to sail to his own people does not the more eagerly desire a favorable wind that he may quickly embrace his dear ones?[105] To teach patience: If a Christian has withdrawn from carnal rage and contention as from the storms of the sea and has already begun to be tranquil and mild in the harbor of Christ he ought to admit neither wrath nor discord within the heart of one not permitted to return evil for evil, nor to hate.[106] Against jealousy and envy the Lord bade us be prudent lest while the adversary soothe the remiss and unwary by a gentler air and a softer breeze, having stirred up gales and whirlwinds, he may plot the ruin of faith, and the shipwrecks of salvation and of life.[107]

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[97] 25.255.12 nunc *mentis aestu fluctuabunda* iactari (puella),

[98] 16.249. 3 hoc sunt eiusmodi lapsis . . . quod *nauigiis* saeua tempestas.
nauem scopulis ne in portum perueniat inlidunt.

DE MORTALITATE

[99] 1.297. 2 Etsi aput plurimos uestrum, fratres dilectissimi,
mens solida est et fides firma et anima deuota
quae ad praesentis mortalitatis copiam non mouetur,
sed tamquam petra fortis et stabilis
turbidos impetus mundi et *uiolentos saeculi fluctus* frangit
potius ipsa nec frangitur,

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[100] 3.299. 5 tunc esse seruis Dei pacem, (contestans)
tunc liberam, tunc tranquillam quietem,
quando de istis mundi turbinibus extracti
sedis et securitatis aeternae portum petiuimus,
quando expuncta hac morte
ad immortalitatem uenimus.

[101] 8.301.23 cum *nauem* scopulosa saxa confringunt,
nauigantibus naufragium sine exceptione commune est,

[102] 12.304.19 *gubernator* in tempestate dinoscitur,
in acie miles probatur. (Cf. Seneca, De Providentia 4. 5).
delicata iactatio est, cum periculum non est:
cum est conflictatio in aduersis, probatio est ueritatis. . . .
nauis quae forti conpage solidata est
pulsatur fluctibus nec foratur,

[103] 20.309.17 praeceptum est, . . . ut publice praedicarem
fratres nostros non esse lugendos
arcessitione dominica de saeculo liberatos,
cum sciamus non amitti sed praemitti,
recedentes praecedere, ut proficiscentes,
ut *nauigantes solent.*
desiderari eos debere, non plangi

[104] 25.313. 4 si *nauigante* te turbida et procellosa tempestas
fluctibus uiolentius excitatis
praenuntiaret *futura naufragia,*
nonne *portum* uelocius *peteres?*

Although, in all probability, Cyprian himself was no seafarer, he could not live near the busy port of Carthage, especially during the fierce gales of the autumn equinox which were one day to bear his name,[p] without realizing the power of this figure. The sea is, indeed, usually represented as storm tossed with sharp crags and dashing waves boding disaster to the ship that does not swiftly seek and gain safe anchorage in a sheltered port where a shattered hulk may be repaired; yet only in this does Cyprian seem to con-form to the classical Roman tradition. He betrays neither personal fear nor distaste for sailing on the one hand, nor on the other any special joy in beholding from the safety of a villa on the shore the sea's evershifting moods and changing hues. Though undoubtedly an admirer of Vergil, he never yields to a temptation to paint the persistently imitated poetic scene—the stormy black or caerulean sea with mountainous waves, foaming and snow-crested, now towering high, now yawning deep down to the seething sands, made more awesome still with lightning flash and thunder roll.[q] Here there is no color, no sound except once when "barking waves" occurs. From the famous port of Carthage merchant vessels had sailed through long centuries; travelers had set out to Rome, to Spain, to Greece, and the Eastern Mediterranean lands, hence Cyprian himself speaks of the trip to Rome quite casually in the letters. He does not, however, belittle the danger of a Christian who must flee precipitously over the sea to escape persecution—unable to choose a favorable time or a seaworthy vessel.

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[105] 26.313.15 quis non peregre constitutus properet in patriam regredi?
quis non ad suos *nauigare festinans*
uentum prosperum cupidius optet,
ut uelociter caros liceat amplecti?

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[106] 16.409. 9 si enim christianus a furore et contentione carnali
tamquam de *maris turbinibus excessit*
et *tranquillus ac lenis* in *portu Christi* esse iam coepit
nec iram nec discordiam debet intra pectus admittere
cui nec malum pro malo reddere liceat nec odisse.

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[107] 1.419. 8 Dominus prudentes esse nos iussit . . .
ne aduersarius . . . dum *remissis et incautis*
leniore aura et flatu molliore blanditur,
procellis ac turbinibus excitatis
ruinas fidei et *salutis ac uitae naufragia* moliatur.

[p] Cf. Tissot, p. 246.

Fountains or Springs and Streams

Not only cooling refreshment and comfort but life itself in Carthage depended on the water supply rising from neighboring springs, stored in cisterns, running in streams or canals. In the *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate*: When from one spring very many little streams rise although multiplicity seems diffused from the bounty of its overflowing abundance, still unity is preserved in the source. From the spring cut off a stream; the part cut off dries up. Thus the Church spreads out more widely her streams bounteously flowing forth; yet there is but one head and one source.[108] It is not to be regretted, therefore, when such disturbing elements as heretics or schismatics withdraw from the Church for drought cannot coexist and be joined with fountains.[109] These faithless ones the Lord designates saying: *They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water, and have digged to themselves broken cisterns, that can hold no water,* for they think they are baptizing and though the fountain of life has been deserted, they promise the grace of life-giving and saving water. Therein men are not washed but rather soiled; sins are not purged but indeed heaped higher.[110] In Cyprian's Bible the *broken cisterns that can hold no water* are *lacus detritos qui non possunt aquam portare* where the Vulgate reading is *cisternas dissipatas quae continere non valent aquas*—an interesting variation.

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[q] The practice of the Roman poets as revealed in St. Denis' study seems to have had surprisingly little effect on the Christian writings of Cyprian.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[108] 5.214. 5 cum de *fonte* uno *riui* plurimi *defluunt,*
numerositas licet diffusa uideatur *exundantis copiae* largitate,
unitas tamen seruatur in *origine*. . . .
a *fonte* praecide *riuum,* praecisus arescit. . . .
profluentes largiter *riuos* latius pandit:
unum tamen caput est et *origo* una

In the *De Bono Patientiae*: In the inseparable equality of God's patience for guilty and guiltless alike the fountains flow.[111] Let us hold fast to the virtue of patience with careful observance—patience here seems the God-given natural stream as distinguished from the man-made irrigation canal or water channel of any sort—Copious and manifold, it is not inclosed within narrow confines nor repressed by straitened bounds. The virtue of patience ranges widely, its rich bounty springs indeed from the fountainhead of one Name but is poured forth in gushing streams through many different ways of glorious deeds.[112] An interesting example of the variety found in expressing similar ideas involving the same figure is to be found by comparing with the Latin of this passage a sentence from the *Ad Donatum* 5: *profluens largiter spiritus nullis finibus premitur nec coercentibus claustris intra certa metarum spatia frenatur, manat iugiter, exuberat afluenter.*

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[109] 9.218. 4 cohaerere et coniungi non potest . . . cum *fontibus* siccitas,

[110] 11.219.15 hos eosdem denuo Dominus designat et denotat dicens:
me dereliquerunt fontem aquae uitae
et effoderunt sibi lacus detritos
qui non possunt aquam portare
(Cf. Jer. 2. 13). . . .
uitae fonte deserto *uitalis et salutaris aquae* gratiam
pollicentur.
non *abluuntur* illic homines sed potius sordidantur,
nec purgantur delicta sed immo cumulantur.

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[111] 4.399. 9 uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae
nocentibus et innoxiis, . . .
fontes fluere,

[112] 20.411.19 (patientiam) plena obseruatione teneamus:
quae *copiosa* et multiplex non *angusto fine concluditur* uel
breuibus terminis coercetur.

In these two treatises which alone contain references to fountains and streams, the fountain or spring represents or illustrates the Church, God Himself as He spoke in the words of Jeremias, and His name as the head-spring of patience.

Air

Winds, Thunder and Lightning

To the North African who experienced scorching or devastating winds from the desert and who longed for cool breezes in the long torrid summer, this figure must have had an appeal quite apart from that of the classical convention. The Christian's greatest desire should be to stand unshaken by the gales and whirlwinds of the world (*procellas et turbines saeculi*).[113] Those who follow Christ, not Satan, are fixed with immovable and unshaken firmness against the tempests and winds of the world, like the wise man's house built upon a rock.[114] He, however, who is unwilling to keep faith must needs waver and wander astray and, carried away by the spirit of error, be blown about like dust which the

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late patet patientiae uirtus
et *ubertas* eius
et *largitas* de unius quidem nominis *fonte* proficiscitur,
sed *exundantibus uenis* per multa gloriarum itinera *diffunditur,*

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[113] 2.188. 8 quid magis uelle ac tenere nos conuenit,
quam ut . . . inconcussi ad *procellas* et *turbines* saeculi stemus,

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[114] 2.210.17 hos contra omnes *tempestates et turbines* saeculi
inmobili et inconcussa firmitate solidatos. . . .
uenerunt uenti et inpegerunt in domum illam: et non cecidit.
(Cf. Matt. 7. 25).

wind stirs up.[115] Here *spiritu erroris* refers very probably to the devil, but its original meaning, breath or breeze, seems to have suggested the remainder of the sentence—*abreptus uelut puluis quem uentus excutit uentiletur.* Tempest and tranquillity cannot be closely associated. Good and true Christians do not depart from the Church. It is not the kernels of grain which the wind carries off nor the tree, deep set with a solid root, which the gale overturns; the empty chaff is tossed about by the tempest; the weak trees are overthrown by the onrush of the whirlwind[116]—*rapit uentus, procella subuertit, tempestate iactantur, turbinis incursione uertuntur.* After the persecution peace was restored to the Church; when the storm and cloud of affliction was scattered, tranquillity and serenity shone forth.[117] The too lenient are as a fierce tempest to the lapsed.[118] Christians feel no trepidation at the gales and storms of the world. . . .[119] Withdrawn from these they seek their eternal harbor.[120] The deep-rooted tree is not moved by onrushing winds (*uentis incumbentibus*). . . . On the threshing floor the heavy grains despise the winds; the chaff is carried off borne by the breeze (*flatu portante*).[121] It is no trial to leave a world falling to ruin and beset by the whirlwinds of devastating ills.[122] A fearful windstorm prompts the mariner to seek port.[123] Three almost synonymous words: the two adjectives and a noun, *turbida et procellosa tempestas,* sound fearsome enough to be onomatopoeic. But in God's goodness the wind breathes on all alike (*uentus adspirat* and *spirare uentos*).[124] In a babe's first cry he is lamenting the trials, sufferings, and gales of the world he is entering.[125] Amid these whirlwinds of a billowing world we must await the day of vengeance.[126] God shall come, according to the psalmist, in anger, a mighty tempest around him, and in Isaias, His chariot is like a tempest[127]—*procella* in both. We must be prudent lest while our adversary caresses the remiss and unwary with a gentler air and softer breeze, having stirred up gales and hurricanes, he plot the downfall of faith and shipwrecks of salvation and of life (*leniore aura et flatu molliore blanditur procellis ac turbinibus excitatis*).[128]

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[115] 2.211. 1 aut unde perueniet ad praemium fidei
qui fidem non uult seruare mandati?
nutet necesse est et uagetur et *spiritu erroris abreptus*
uelut puluis quem *uentus excutit uentiletur*

[116] 9.218. 4 cohaerere et coniungi non potest, . . .
cum tranquillitate *tempestas.*
nemo existimet bonos de ecclesia posse discedere:
triticum non *rapit uentus*
nec arborem solida radice fundatam *procella subuertit:*
inanes paleae *tempestate iactantur,*
inualidae arbores *turbinis incursione uertuntur.*

DE LAPSIS

[117] 1.237. 2 Pax ecce, dilectissimi fratres, ecclesiae reddita est . . .
et *tempestate pressurae* ac *nube discussa*
tranquillitas ac serenitas refulserunt.

[118] 16.249. 3 hoc sunt eiusmodi lapsis . . . quod nauigiis *saeua tempestas. . . .*
nauem scopulis ne in portum perueniat inlidunt.

DE MORTALITATE

[119] 2.297.16 ad *procellas* et *turbines* mundi trepidatio nulla sit nobis

[120] 3.299. 5 tunc esse seruis Dei . . . tranquillam quietem,
quando de *istis mundi turbinibus* extracti
sedis et securitatis aeternae portum petiuimus,

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[121] 12.304.21 arbor quae alta radice fundata est
uentis incumbentibus non mouetur
et nauis quae forti conpage solidata est
pulsatur fluctibus nec foratur
et quando area fruges terit,
uentos grana fortia et robusta contemnunt
inanes paleae *flatu portante* rapiuntur.

[122] 25.312.24 Quod cum semper faciendum fuerit Dei seruis,
nunc fieri multo magis debet
corruente iam mundo
et *malorum infestantium turbinibus* obsesso, . . .

[123] 25.313. 4 si nauigante te *turbida et procellosa tempestas*
fluctibus uiolentius excitatis
praenuntiaret futura naufragia,
nonne portum uelocius peteres?

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[124] 25.393.27 sic aequaliter . . . *uentus adspirat,*

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

4.399. 9 uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae
nocentibus et innoxiis, . . .
elementa famulari,
spirare uentos,

[125] 12.405.16 prouidentia naturali
lamentatur uitae mortalis anxietates et labores
et *procellas mundi* quas ingreditur
in exordio statim suo ploratu et gemitu rudis anima testatur.

[126] 21.412.16 nec illud . . . reticendum est,
ut in istis *fluctuantis mundi turbinibus* . . .
patienter expectemus ultionis diem

Two other words may be noted: Quoting St. Paul, 2 Tim. 3. 4, *In the last days there shall be men . . . puffed up: tumidi* in the Vulgate; *stuprore inflati* in Cyprian's Bible. In the same chapter occurs one of several similar passages in which the various vices are personified as in allegory: More and more as the adversary rages, does error deceive, stupidity raise aloft, envy inflame, cupidity blind, impiety deprave, haughtiness puff up,[129] discord make harsh, and rage hurl men headlong. This metaphor, *superbia inflat* on page 225. 10 here, appears also 5. 19; 299. 18; 357. 27; and 423. 6—usually in a similar group and all showing asyndeton. The other word occurs in *De Dominica Oratione* where we are admonished not to waft or "breeze" our prayers about on every side with unsubdued voices—*uentilare preces nostras,*[130] an unusual meaning for this verb.

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[127] 22.413.22 *Deus manifestus ueniet Deus noster et non silebit. . . .*
in circuitu eius procella nimia (Cf. Ps. 49. 3).
sicut procella currus eius retribuere in ira uindictam
(Cf. Isa. 66. 15).

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[128] 1.419. 8 Dominus prudentes esse nos iussit . . .
ne aduersarius . . . dum *remissis et incautis*
leniore aura et *flatu molliore* blanditur,
procellis ac turbinibus excitatis
ruinas fidei et salutis ac uitae naufragia moliatur.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[129] 16.224.23 (*in nouissimis diebus . . . erunt homines*) *stupore inflati*
(Cf. 2 Tim. 3. 4), . . .
magis ac magis aduersario saeuiente . . . superbia *inflat,*

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[130] 4.269. 1 et quando in unum cum fratribus conuenimus
et sacrificia diuina cum Dei sacerdote celebramus,
uerecundiae et disciplinae memores esse debemus,
non passim *uentilare* preces nostras inconditis uocibus
nec petitionem commendandam modeste Deo
tumultuosa loquacitate iactare,
quia Deus non uocis sed cordis auditor est,

Storms, gales, whirlwinds in general, represent the fierce trials and tribulations of life on earth, and the temptations which try the soul, the destructiveness of too-great leniency to the sinner and God's chariot when He comes in anger and vengeance. The pleasant wind is a gift of God, His means of separating wheat from chaff; the soft breeze, Satan's soothing wiles and alluring error. Thunder and lightning have been included in this section only to draw attention to their entire absence.

Rain, Hail, Dew, Clouds

Rain, in general, like the sun is a blessed source of fruitfulness. Only in *De Habitu Virginum* when listing the dangers which threaten fruits stored on earth instead of heaven, is it the rain which corrupts.[131] The *De Catholicae Ecclesia Unitate* cites the parable of the house built upon a rock in which the rain descends with the floods and winds, yet doing no harm.[132] How truly grateful Christians should be that the heretics and schismatics had separated themselves from the faithful is illustrated briefly but variously. The whole is included here rather than elsewhere: Bitterness cannot coexist and be united with sweetness, gloom with light, rain with a clear sky, conflict with peace, with fruitfulness sterility, with fountains drought, with tranquillity storm.[133] This is one of the sentences which show how the rhetorician's skill produces ef-

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DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[131] 11.195.12 possessiones tibi sed caelestes magis conpara,
ubi fructus tuos . . . nec *grando caedat* . . .
nec *pluuia corrumpat.*

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[132] 2.210.20 *descendit pluuia, aduenerunt flumina. uenerunt uenti*
et inpegerunt in domum illam: et non cecidit.
fundata enim fuit super petram (Cf. Matt. 7. 25).

[133] 9.218. 4 cohaerere et coniungi non potest
amaritudo cum dulcedine,
caligo cum lumine,
pluuia cum serenitate,
pugna cum pace,
cum fecunditate sterilitas,
cum fontibus siccitas,
cum tranquillitate tempestas.

fective thought contrast, and harmony yet variety in expression. The rain which cannot coexist with clear sky—*pluuia cum serenitate,*—is also the word used in *pluuia corrumpat* and in the Scriptural *pluuia descendit.* In these three instances that word seems to connote an undesirable downpour, but such a distinction from *imber* is not borne out; for in the instances which follow *imber* is used in each case but the last, twice with *rigat;* elsewhere both *imber* and *pluuia* are used to secure a desired pair of synonyms. In the *De Mortalitate* the Christian's sharing the vicissitudes of life on earth with the wicked is explained thus: when fair weather clouds withhold the rain there is one and the same drought for all.[134] When the widow of Sarepta gave her last bit of oil and meal at the request of Elias, God promised that her meal should not fail nor oil diminish until the days when the Lord would send rain upon the earth.[135] In God's goodness the rain moistens all equally.[136] In His patience when He moistens the earth with showers, no one is excluded from His benefits since He bestows indiscriminate rains.[137] The passage from St. Matthew about God's causing it to rain (*pluit*) on both just and unjust, paraphrased here is quoted in the following paragraph, *De Bono Patientiae* 4, and used both in *De Dominica Oratione* 17, and in *De Zelo et*

DE MORTALITATE

[134] 8.301.22 quando *imbrem nubila serena* suspendunt,
omnibus siccitas una est,

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[135] 17.386.14 Sic uidua illa in tertio Regnorum libro cum in *siccitate* et fame
consumptis omnibus de modico farre et oleo quod superfuerat
fecisset cinericium panem . . .
superuenit Helias et petit sibi prius ad edendum dari, . . .
nec obtemperare illa dubitauit . . .
haec dicit Dominus: fidelia farris non deficiet
et capsaces olei non minuet usque in
diem quo dabit Dominus imbrem
super terram
(Cf. 3 Kings 17. 14).

[136] 25.393.27 sic aequaliter . . . *imber rigat,*

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[137] 4.399. 7 cum *imbribus* terras *rigat,* nemo a beneficiis eius excluditur
quominus iustis similiter et iniustis *indiscretas pluuias*
largiatur.

Liuore 15, to prove that we ought to be like our Father and pray for the welfare of all alike.[138]

Apart from the rain, the phenomena of air are mentioned but once each. Heavenly treasures are to be gathered by the virgins and stored where hail does not cut down or slash (*grando caedat*).[131] When the fair-weather clouds suspend rain, drought is the common lot of both good and wicked.[134] In *nubila serena* there is another of the rare instances of oxymoron, very likely suggested by Vergil's *unde serenas Ventus agat nubes, sol tibi signa dabit,* from *Georgics* 1, 461. In the *Ad Demetrianum,* a similar condition is described: *imbres et pluuias serena longa suspendunt,* 2. 352. 9. Although the passage is Scriptural in origin, the breath of dew—*spiritu roris*—with which God refreshed the youths in the fiery furnace amid ambient flames[139] is quite different from that of the Vulgate reading—*fecit medium fornacis quasi ventum roris flantem.*

Fire

In a warm country it is not surprising to find fire associated with pain rather than with grateful, comforting warmth. An oft-repeated reference to the three children in the furnace of fire illustrates the desirability of unity in the Church, for because they remained simple and unanimous in God, He refreshed them in the midst of the ambient flames with the spirit of dew.[140] As St.

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[138] 17.279.18 merito et nos esse debemus patri Deo similes,
qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos
et *pluit* super iustos et iniustos (Cf. Matt. 5. 45).
sic Christo monente oramus et petimus,
ut precem pro omnium salute faciamus,
(Cf. 400.18; 429.23).

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[139] 12.221. 8 flammis ambientibus medios spiritu *roris animauit* (Deus)

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[140] 12.221. 3 *ubicumque fuerint duo aut tres, ego,* inquit, *cum eis sum . . .*
(Cf. Matt. 18.20),
quomodo et cum tribus pueris in *camino ignis* fuit
et quia in Deum simplices
adque inter se unanimes permanebant,
flammis ambientibus medios *spiritu* roris animauit,

Paul says, giving his body to be burned without charity would avail nothing, so heretics or schismatics even though, given up to flames and fires they lay down their lives, will receive not the crown of faith but the penalty of faithlessness.[141] In the Old Testament fire is cited as the means of God's speedy vengeance on the followers of Core, Dathon, and Abiron who had arrogated to themselves the right of offering sacrifice, and sons of Aaron who had placed strange fire upon the altar were at once destroyed.[142] Of the lapsed, this question: The altar which he had approached, but to die spiritually, was it not his own pyre? The devil's altar which he had seen smoking and reeking with its foul stench ought he not shudder and flee from, as the funeral and burning pile of his own life? Then apostrophizing the guilty one: Why bring a sacrifice to the altars with you, unhappy man, why a victim, when you go to make your supplication? You yourself go as the sacrifice to the altars—you yourself as the victim; there have you immolated your salvation, your hope, there have you burned your faith in the deadly fires.[143] Those who finally yielded when overcome by such cruel tortures, when the flame was scorching their bodies, may plead physical weakness. Thus the Lord forgave them; and those who had been conquered in the first conflict He made victors in the second battle, so that they who had formerly yielded to the fires became stronger than fires; and whence they had been overcome, thence they now overcame.[144] When a certain woman attempted with hands defiled by pagan sacrifice to open the little chest in which she kept the Holy of the Lord, fire rising therefrom terrified her so she dared not touch it.[145] Again the three noble youths did not cease from making open confession to God amid the flames and fires of the blazing furnace. Azarias standing prayed and made confession to God together with his companions in the midst of the fire[146]—surely then those who had so grievously sinned ought not hesitate to make their confession. The God of peace and master of harmony wishes each one to pray for all as He Himself in one bore us all. This law of prayer the three youths kept when enclosed in the furnace of fire lifting their voices together in prayer, their hearts united in harmony of soul.[147] Since every tree which produces no fruit is cut down, and cast into the fire, so also every word bearing no fruit cannot deserve well of God because it is not fruitful in good works.[148] Finally in Ecclesiasticus we read: *As water quencheth a flaming fire so alms quencheth sin,*[149] and Isaias says though they wrapped themselves in hair cloth and in ashes they could not soften the wrath of God but by alms alone He could be appeased.[150]

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[141] 14.222.16 *si tradidero corpus meum ut ardeam, caritatem autem non habeam,*
nihil proficio (Cf. 1 Cor. 13. 3). . . .
ardeant licet *flammis et ignibus* traditi
uel obiecti bestiis animas suas ponant,
non erit illa fidei corona sed poena perfidiae

[142] 18.226.19 exiens a Domino *ignis* properata ultione *consumpsit*, . . .
et filii Aaron, qui inposuerunt altari *ignem alienum*
quem non praeceperat Dominus,
in conspectu statim Domini uindicantis extincti sunt.

DE LAPSIS

[143] 8.242.24 non ara illa, quo moriturus accesserat, *rogus* illi fuit?
non diaboli altare quod faetore taetro
fumare ac redolere conspexerat
uelut funus et *bustum uitae suae* horrere ac fugere debebat?
. . .
ipse ad aras hostia, uictima ipse uenisti,
inmolasti illic salutem tuam, spem tuam,
fidem tuam *funestis* illic *ignibus concremasti.*

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[144] 13.246.18 nunc *flamma torreret, . . .*
sic hic Casto et Aemilio aliquando Dominus ignouit,
sic in prima congressione deuictos
uictores in secundo proelio reddidit,
ut fortiores *ignibus* fierent qui *ignibus* ante cessissent
et unde superati essent inde superarent. . . .
manabat pro fletibus sanguis et pro lacrimis cruor
semiustulatis uisceribus defluebat.

[145] 26.256. 6 et cum quaedam arcam suam in quo Domini sanctum fuit
manibus inmundis temptasset aperire,
igne inde *surgente* deterrita est ne auderet adtingere.

[146] 31.260. 3 Ananias, Azarias et Misahel inlustres ac nobiles pueri
quominus exomologesim Deo faciant
nec inter *flammas* et *camini exaestuantis incendia* quieuerunt. . . .
loquitur scriptura diuina, *stans,* inquit, *Azarias precatus est . . .*
et exomologesim faciebat Deo
simul cum sodalibus suis in medio igni
(Cf. Dan. 3. 25).

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[147] 8.271.11 Deus pacis et concordiae magister qui docuit unitatem,
sic orare unum pro omnibus uoluit,
quomodo in uno omnes ipse portauit.
hanc orationis legem seruauerunt tres pueri in *camino ignis*
inclusi consonantes in prece
et spiritus consensione concordes:

Although the three youths in the fiery furnace are a favorite source of lesson, there is variety in application and vocabulary. They illustrate successively unity of heart and soul, public confession of sin, mutual rather than selfish prayer. Two clauses: *flammis ambientibus medios spiritu roris* (*Deus*) *animauit* and *nec inter flammas et camini exaestuantis incendia quieuerunt,* serve to show the exalted style and poetic color of the description. *Ignis* has an adjective modifier only once, in the very dramatic address to the lapsed who has burnt up his faith in the deadly fires there on the altar (*funestis illic ignibus concremasti*). Elsewhere a verb usually adds color to the noun: *flammis ambientibus, ardeant, consumpsit, torreret, surgente,* and *exaestuantis,* a rare verb. In this same passage *rogus, funus,* and *bustum* are all applied to the altar on which a Christian's sacrifice to pagan gods is seen *fumare ac redolere.* Another elaborated sentence in *De Lapsis* in which the rare *semiustulatis* appears, almost defies translation because of balanced synonyms: *manabat pro fletibus sanguis et pro lacrimis cruor semiustulatis visceribus defluebat;* of one who implored pardon for having previously succumbed by undergoing a second time fiery torture it is said: In place of weeping, blood was dripping; in place of tears, blood was flowing down over the scorched or half-burned frame.[144]

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[148] 32.290.14 cum omnis arbor non faciens fructum excidatur
et in *ignem mittatur,*
utique et sermo non habens fructum promereri Deum non potest,
quia nulla operatione fecundus est.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[149] 2.374. 6 *sicut aqua ignem extinguet,*
sic eleemosyna extinguet peccatum (Cf. Eccli. 3. 33).

[150] 4.376. 5 nec si in cilicio et *cinere* uoluerentur,
iram Dei posse lenire,

Fire then is associated with sacrifice and punishment: flames consuming the victim of sacrifice on the altar, applied by the torturers tempting the God-fearing to apostasy, or sent by God in punishment for violation of His law.

Fire—Metaphorical

The varied and extensive use of the vocabulary of fire in a figurative sense can best be observed by presenting thought and word together in this section. The fire of hell has been perhaps arbitrarily included here. *Fomes,* usually the chips or twigs used to kindle a fire, is applied perhaps for the first time[r] metaphorically to any non-material means of kindling a spirit or passion and employed with *nutrimentum* meaning fuel, as used by Vergil, Aeneid 1. 176. Discipline is thus the means of kindling and feeding the flame of a good character (*fomes ac nutrimentum*). Discipline must be maintained lest God's wrath be speedily kindled (*exarserit*).[151] Having imitated the red and painted eyes of the serpent, a virgin is destined to burn with him (*arsura*).[152] The virgin ought to refrain from being present at weddings where amid evil words and drunken feasting the fuel of passions is fired (*libidinum fomes accenditur*).[153] *Fomentum,* always in the plural, not in its commoner classic sense of a soothing warm application, but like *fomes* is tinder for a fire. Hence a virgin conspicuously attired fires the touchwood of hope in the youths who behold her (*sperandi fomenta succendas*).[154] In time of peace Christians set themselves to enlarging their wealth with the burning heat of insatiable greed (*ardore*);[155] this, of course, is no new figure. He who would easily pardon the lapsed supplies tinder for sinning and does not check but feeds the crimes (*peccandi fomitem subministrat . . . delicta . . . nutrit*).[156] Gospel precepts are nothing other than fuel for warming the heart (*nutrimenta fouendi cordis*).[157]

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[r] Gellius 15. 2,3: *ac simul inter eiusmodi orationem crebris et ingentibus poculis ingenium omne ingurgitabat fomitem esse quendam dicens et incitabulum ingenii virtutisque, si mens et corpus hominis vino flagraret*—uses *fomes* metaphorically and is certainly earlier; this *fomes,* however, though not the usual material for fuel, being wine, is a real and material source of spirit and valor.

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[151] 1.187. 2 Disciplina custos spei, . . . *fomes ac nutrimentum* bonae indolis,

in psalmis loquitur Spiritus sanctus:
continete disciplinam ne forte irascatur Dominus
et pereatis a uia recta,
cum exarserit cito ira eius super uos
(Cf. Ps. 2. 12, 13).

[152] 17.199.23 rutilos adque depictos oculos serpentis imitata es,
de inimico tuo compta,
cum illo pariter *arsura.*

[153] 18.200.12 quasdam non pudet nubentibus interesse . . .
inter uerba turpia et temulenta conuiuia,
quibus *libidinum fomes accenditur,*

Describing the plague: a fire conceived in the very marrow of the bones blazes out into ulcers of the throat . . . the eyes are aflame with the heat of the blood—(*ignis exaestuat . . . oculi inardescunt*).[158] But let him fear to die who, not reborn of water and the spirit, is delivered over to the fires of gehenna; let him fear to die whom the eternal flame will torment with everlasting punishments when he departs from the world (*gehennae ignibus mancipatur . . . aeterna flamma torquebit*).[159] The tepid are set afire by fear of the plague and the circumstances (*accenduntur tepidi*).[160] How fitting that the rapacious quench the ever insatiable burning of raging avarice even through fear of death (*ardorem . . . extinguant*).[161] In a simile first from Scripture; *As water quencheth fire so alms quencheth sin,* then by way of explanation: as in the laver of the water of salvation the fire of gehenna is quenched so by almsdeeds and righteous works of mercy the flame of sins is stilled—(*delictorum flamma sopitur*).[162] King Nabuchodonosor terrified by an adverse dream burned with excitement (*aestuaret*).[163] Explaining the Scriptures: unfruitful trees, that is men barren in good works, are cut down and cast into the fire.[164] Again explaining, this time the Apocalypse: Buy for yourself from Christ gold fire-tried (*ignitum*) that when your stains have been burned away as by fire (*tamquam igne decoctis*) you may be clean gold.[165] Those who have not shown mercy to Christ in their neighbor will be condemned to depart into everlasting fire (*in ignem aeternum*).[166] We should consider the self-sacrificing charity of the early Christians when the faith of the believers was still glowing with the new warmth of faith (*fidei calore feruebat*).[167] Patience is necessary to triumph over the manifold ills proceeding from the flesh such as the burning heat of fevers (*de ardoribus febrium*);[168] patience also quenches the fire of rivalry (*incendium simultatis extinguit*).[169] In the words of Malachy: *The day of the Lord cometh kindled as a furnace and shall set the wicked on fire,* and in the Psalms: *A fire will burn before him.* In Isaias: *The Lord will come as a fire . . . in the fire of the Lord they will be judged* (*ardens uelut clibanus . . . succendet illos; ignis ante eum ardebit; sicut ignis ueniet . . . in igne Domini iudicabuntur*).[170] The Lord bids us be prudent lest when our watchful foe has crept into our breast he kindle flames of jealousy from sparks (*de scintillis conflet incendia*).[171] Because Jacob received his father's blessing, Esau blazed out with the firebrands of jealousy into the hatred of persecution (*facibus liuoris*

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[154] 9.194.12 *sperandi fomenta succendas,*

DE LAPSIS

[155] 6.240.14 *insatiabili cupiditatis ardore* ampliandis facultatibus incubabant.

[156] 14.247.12 peccandi *fomitem subministrat*
nec conprimit delicta ille sed *nutrit.*

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[157] 1.267. 2 Euangelica praecepta, . . . nihil sunt aliud
quam . . . *nutrimenta fouendi cordis,*

DE MORTALITATE

[158] 14.305.15 quod in faucium uulnera conceptus medullitus *ignis exaestuat,*
. . .
quod oculi ui sanguinis *inardescunt,* . . .
ad documentum proficit fidei.

[159] 14.306. 2 mori plane timeat,
sed qui ex aqua et spiritu non renatus
gehennae ignibus mancipatur. . . .
mori timeat quem de saeculo recedentem
perennibus poenis *aeterna flamma* torquebit.

[160] 15.306.23 pauore mortalitatis et temporis *accenduntur tepidi,*

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[161] 16.307. 9 quam pertinens, . . . an rapaces auaritiae furentis
insatiabilem semper *ardorem* uel metu mortis *extinguant,*

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[162] 2.374. 6 *sicut aqua ignem extinguet,*
sic eleemosyna extinguet peccatum (Cf. Eccli. 3. 33).
hic quoque ostenditur et probatur
quia sicut lauacro aquae salutaris
gehennae ignis extinguitur,
ita eleemosynis adque operationibus iustis
delictorum flamma sopitur.

[163] 5.377. 2 rex Nabuchodonosor aduerso somnio territus *aestuaret,*

[164] 8.380. 1 arbores infructuosas id est steriles homines excidi
et in *ignem* mitti,

[165] 14.384. 5 *suadeo tibi emere a me aurum ignitum de igni ut sis diues . . .*
(Cf. Apoc. 3. 18),
eme tibi a Christo aurum *ignitum,*
ut sordibus tuis tamquam *igne decoctis*
esse aurum mundum possis,

[166] 23.392.15 *quamdiu non fecistis uni ex minimis his, neque mihi fecistis.*
et abibunt isti in ignem aeternum,
iusti autem in uitam aeternum (Cf. Matt. 25. 45,46),

[167] 25.393. 9 Cogitemus, fratres dilectissimi,
quid sub apostolis fecerit credentium populus, . . .
quando credentium fides *nouo adhuc fidei calore feruebat.*

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[168] 17.409.23 multiplex temptationum qualitas inrogatur
de iacturis facultatum,
de *ardoribus* febrium,
de cruciatibus uulnerum,
de amissione carorum.

[169] 20.412. 2 (patientia est quae) *incendium simultatis extinguit,*

[170] 22.413.16 Quando autem ueniat sanguinis iusti diuina uindicta
declarat per Malachin prophetam Spiritus sanctus dicens:
ecce dies Domini uenit ardens uelut clibanus,
eruntque omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula,
et succendet illos adueniens dies, dicit Dominus.
(Cf. Mal. 4. 1).
quod item legimus in psalmis, ubi Dei iudicis praedicatur
aduentus censurae suae maiestate uenerandus:
Deus manifestus ueniet Deus noster et non silebit.
ignis ante eum ardebit. (Cf. Ps. 49. 3) . . .
et Esaias eadem praenuntiat dicens:
ecce enim Dominus sicut ignis ueniet,
et sicut procella currus eius retribuere in ira uindictam.
in igne enim Domini iudicabuntur
et in gladio eius uulnerabuntur. (Cf. Isa. 66. 15,16).

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[171] 1.419. 8 Dominus prudentes esse nos iussit
et cauta sollicitudine uigilare praecepit,
ne aduersarius uigilans semper ipse et semper insidians
ubi in pectus obrepsit
de *scintillis conflet incendia,*

exarsit).[172] Jealousy inflames avarice (*inflammat*); when one cannot rest content seeing another richer, anger flames up (*feruescit*);[173] the greater another's success, the more the envious burns with the fires of envy unto a greater conflagration (*in maius incendium liuoris ignibus inardescit*).[174]

Whereas the Scripture cited uses a vocabulary confined to *ignis, ignio, ardeo, exardeo, succendo,* and *extinguo,* St. Cyprian adds vividness by *fomes, fomitum,* and *nutrimentum, ardor, calor, fax, febris, flamma, incendium, scintilla* and *tepidus; accendo, aestuo, exaestuo, conflo, decoquo, ferueo, feruesco, foueo, inardesco, nutrio, sopio, subministro* including all terms used regarding real fire except *ambio, concremo, consumo, fumo, semiustulo, surgo* and *torreo.* Not only in poetic vocabulary but in form and word order there is a more evident striving for effectiveness in metaphorical than in real description.

ORGANIC NATURE

Plants

Trees

The absolute necessity for maintaining unity with the church is illustrated by a threefold simile, one part of which concerns the tree: though it has many branches its strength or trunk is founded on a single tenacious root deep-lodged in the earth. Wherefore a branch once broken from the tree can not put forth buds, having neither strength nor life. So also the Church of the Lord spreads out her branches to the whole earth because of the rich abundance of her fertility.[175] Referring to unfaithful Christians: the hurricane does not uproot the tree secured by a firm and solid root; the weak trees only are overthrown by the whirlwind's blast.[176] Those who minimize the fall of the lapsed in this way are to them as hail to the fruits, as the stormy star to the trees.[177] Those who pray ought not come with unfruitful prayers; if the tree which produces no good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire, surely a word without fruit can find no favor with God because it is not fertile with good works. A man who believes does his good works with faith. He knows that unfruitful trees, that is, men who bear no fruit are cut down and cast into the fire; the merciful are called into the kingdom. In another place also Christ calls those who are doers of good works and fruitful men, faithful; to the unfruitful and sterile He denies faith.[178] The time of pestilence like any other trial proves real virtue; the tree firmly fixed by a deep root is not moved by assailing winds.[179] In God's patience trees abound with fruits, groves bud forth with leaves, fruits of

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[172] 5.422. 3 quod Esau fratri suo Jacob inimicus extitit zelus fuit:
nam quia ille benedictionem patris acceperat,
hic in odium persecutionis *facibus liuoris exarsit.*

[173] 6.423. 1 auaritiam zelus *inflammat,*
dum quis suo non potest esse contentus uidens alterum ditiorem. . . .
ira *feruescit,* nec se iam potest cohibere uel regere
qui factus est potestatis alienae.

[174] 7.424. 5 quanto ille cui inuidetur successu meliore profecerit
tanto inuidus in maius *incendium liuoris ignibus inardescit.*

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[175] 5.214. 4 *rami arboris* multi sed robur unum *tenaci radice* fundatum, . . .
ab *arbore* frange *ramum,* fractus germinare non poterit: . . .
ramos suos in uniuersam terram copia ubertatis *extendit,*

[176] 9.218. 8 nec *arborem solida radice* fundatam procella subuertit: . . .
inualidae arbores turbinis incursione uertuntur.

DE LAPSIS

[177] 16.249. 3 hoc sunt eiusmodi lapsis quod grando frugibus,
quod turbidum sidus *arboribus,* . . .
a *radice subuertunt,*

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[178] 32.290.14 cum omnis *arbor non faciens fructum* excidatur
et in ignem mittatur,
utique et sermo non habens fructum mereri Deum non potest,
quia nulla operatione fecundus est. Cf. 380.1.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

8.380. 1 scit *arbores infructuosas* id est steriles homines excidi
et in ignem mitti, misericordes ad regnum uocari.
qui et alio in loco operarios et *fructuosos fideles* appellat,
infructuosis uero et sterilibus fidem derogat

DE MORTALITATE

[179] 12.304.21 *arbor* quae *alta radice* fundata est uentis incumbentibus non mouetur

the vine mellow as they ripen for innocent and guilty alike.[180] But because in the beginning man ate of the forbidden tree the earth has been accursed in his works, quoting Genesis.[181]

Although the idea of the tree made sturdy by its root is thrice repeated, the adjectives vary: *tenaci, solida,* and *alta* qualifying *radice; fundatus, inualidus, fructuosus,* and *infructuosus* are epithets applied to the tree itself, *arbor* except for *arbusta* and *nemus* once each. The tree in simile represents the Church; it illustrates the soul whether steadfast or weak, barren or fruitful. With its fruits it proves the goodness and equity of God.

Fields and Their Fruits

St. Cyprian's well-established practice of modeling his teaching on Christ's method makes the use of the fields and their fruits both real and figurative a foregone conclusion. Interest arises, however, from the differences in vocabulary and style existing between his version of the Scriptures and these treatises.

Continuing the Lord's admonition about gathering with Him and not scattering, Cyprian says that one who gathers elsewhere but in the Church scatters the Church of Christ.[182] It is not the good however who withdraw from the unity of the Church: the wind does not carry off the wheat; the empty chaff is tossed about by the gale.[183] Here also the damage of hail to the fruits may be included.[184] Riches are not only to be despised, they are dangerously deceptive; the foolish rich man, thinking of his earthly possessions and priding himself in the abundance of his overflowing fruits, was reproached by God; although destined to die that very night the fool was rejoicing in his fruits, and he to whom life was even now failing was still taking account of the abundance of his means of livelihood.[185] Prayer should be not only for self but for others after Christ's example, *Behold Satan hath desired to sift you as wheat, but I have prayed for thee.*[186] There is no cause for wonder that Christian and pagan suffer alike from the plague; when the soil is starving with scanty produce, famine makes no distinctions, excepts no one.[187] Trials but prove the Christian: when the threshing floor bruises the grain, the strong and hardy grains despise the winds while the empty chaff is seized and carried off upon their blast.[188] The foolish rich man in the Gospel points an eloquent climactic appeal for almsgiving which opens with one of the comparatively rare plays on words, *seruare* in this case: You save money, which when saved, does not save you, you heap up your patrimony which overburdens you with its weight, and you remember not what God replied to the rich man, boasting with stupid exaltation in the abundance of his overflowing fruits. Divide your

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[180] 4.399. 9 uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae
nocentibus et innoxiis, . . .
fructus mitescere uinearum,
exuberare pomis arbusta,
nemora frondescere,

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[181] 11.405. 1 *quia audisti,* inquit, *uocem mulieris tuae*
et manducasti ex illa arbore,
de qua sola praeceperam tibi ne manducares,
maledicta terra erit in omnibus operibus tuis,
(Cf. Gen. 3. 17).

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[182] 6.214.25 monet Dominus et dicit: *qui non est mecum aduersus me est,*
et qui non mecum colligit spargit (Cf. Matt. 12. 30). . . .
qui alibi praeter ecclesiam *colligit* Christi ecclesiam *spargit.*

[183] 9.218. 8 *triticum* non rapit uentus . . .
inanes paleae tempestate iactantur,

DE LAPSIS

[184] 16.249. 4 quod grando *frugibus,* (hoc sunt eiusmodi lapsis)

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[185] 20.282. 3 diuitem stultum *saeculares copias* cogitantem
et se *exuberantium fructuum largitate* iactantem,
redarguit Deus dicens:
stulte, hac nocte expostulatur anima tua.
quae ergo parasti cuius erunt
(Cf. Luke 12. 20)?
laetabatur stultus in *fructibus* nocte moriturus
et cui uita iam deerat uictus *abundantiam* cogitabat.

[186] 30.288.25 *ecce satanas postulabat ut uos uexaret quomodo triticum*
(Cf. Luke 22. 31).

DE MORTALITATE

[187] 8.301.19 sic cum *fetu sterili terra ieiuna* est, neminem fames separat:

[188] 12.304.24 quando area *fruges* terit.
uentos *grana fortia et robusta* contemnunt
inanes paleae flatu portante rapiuntur.

returns with your God, share your fruits with Christ.[189] The frequency and power with which this text is used suggests how potent its menacing lesson had been when the rich gentleman rhetorician of Carthage had first read it and was actually moved to do just what, as Bishop, he was now urging upon his people. Since the whole world shares alike in God's bounty, the man who has possessions on earth and shares their returns and fruits with the brotherhood, in so far as he is common and just in his gracious benefactions, is an imitator of God the Father.[190] In the indiscriminating equality of God's patience with innocent and guilty alike, we see the abundance of the harvest increase, the meadows flower.[191] The real fruits of the earth—grain—are mentioned only incidentally when Joseph, among other noteworthy characters from Abel on, is made an example of patience in a carefully wrought paragraph. Joseph, sold and banished by his brethren, not only patiently pardons them but also generously and mercifully distributes gratuitous grain to them when they come.[192] Here *Joseph uenundatus* and *relegatus* echo the preceding *Jacob fugatus; patienter* twice, *largiter* and *clementer; ignoscit* and *impertit* fol-

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DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[189] 13.383.17 seruas pecuniam quae te seruata non seruat,
patrimonium cumulas quod te pondere suo onerat,
nec meministi quid Deus responderit diuiti
exuberantium fructuum copiam
stulta exultatione iactanti.
reditus tuos diuide cum Deo tuo,
fructus tuos partire cum Christo,

[190] 25.393.29 quo aequalitatis exemplo qui possessor in terris
reditus ac *fructus* suos cum fraternitate
partitur,
dum largitionibus gratuitis communis ac iustus est,
Dei patris imitator est.

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[191] 4.399. 9 uidemus inseparabili aequalitate patientiae
nocentibus et innoxiis, . . .
grandescere copias messium, . . .
prata florere.

[192] 10.404. 7 Iacob fugatus a fratre de *terra* sua patienter excedit . . .
Ioseph uenundatus a fratribus et relegatus
non tantum patienter ignoscit,
sed et gratuita uenientibus *frumenta*
largiter et clementer impertit.

lowing *excedit* and *redigit* add to the rime patterns. Finally Genesis is quoted as God pronounces Adam's punishment whereby the earth should bring forth thorns and thistles and he should eat the food of the field: *pabulum* not *herbam* as in the Vulgate.[193]

Inanes paleae are twice contrasted with grain: once *triticum,* then *grana fortia et robusta.* First the empty chaff is tossed about by the storm *tempestate iactantur,* then carried off by the blast of the winds *flatu portante rapiuntur; exuberantium fructuum* occurs twice: once after *largitate* again after *copiam.* In a phrase similar to *Ad Demetrianum* 7.355.23, *cum fetu sterili terra ieiuna est, fetu sterili* provides a rare instance of oxymoron. Watson felt that *quando area fruges terit* recalls Tibullus 1.5.22,[s] *area dum messes sole calente teret,* but if a source is to be sought, in view of Cyprian's love for Vergil, and especially the Georgics, so frequently apparent in his verbal reminiscence, it seems unnecessary to go farther than Georgics 1.191-2: *at si luxuria foliorum exuberat umbra, nequiquam pinguis pales teret area culmos*—but if shade abounds from luxuriance of leafage in vain shall your floor thresh the stalks, rich only in chaff; or Georgics 1.298: *et medio tostas aestu terit area fruges*—in midday heat the floor threshes the parched ears.

Grain in simile represents the good and faithful, chaff the wicked and faithless; in reality, it stands for wealth, comfort, a means of charity toward the needy, and God's bounty.

Seed, Root, Flower, Fruit—Metaphorical

The roots of our spiritual life ought to be firmly fixed in discipline in order to stand unshaken before the winds and storms of the world.[194] Though root in this sense was not an uncommon figure in Classical Latin this is more likely Scriptural in origin. The body of virgins are the flower of the Church's seed, a joyous growth. Through them and in them the glorious fruitfulness of Mother Church is flowering—a figure applied most frequently thereafter to virgins among ecclesiastical writers.[195] In the words of Isaias: *All flesh is grass and all the glory thereof as the flower of grass. The grass is withered and the flower is fallen, but the word of the Lord endureth forever.*[196] Starting from the Scriptural injunction to store up treasures in heaven, Cyprian adds, where your fruits are forever immune from every touch of earthly blight.[197] By the use of the public baths the flower of virginity is quenched.[198] The hundredfold is the fruit of the martyrs, the sixtyfold the fruit of the virgins.[199] Through heresies the faithful are separated from the faithless even before the day of judgment, as the chaff from the grain.[200] From the words of schismatics we should hedge in our ears with thorns.[201] Slightly varying St. Paul's statement: *The desire of money is the root of all evils,* riches here are the root of enticing evils.[202] Again St. Paul encouraging almsdeeds: *He that ministereth seed to the sower, will both give you bread to eat and will multiply your seed, and increase the growth of the fruits of your justice.*[203] Beside the poor widow offering her mite let the rich be ashamed of their barrenness and unfruitfulness.[204] And that the slothful and barren and those who for greed for money do nothing in regard to the fruit of salvation may feel greater shame, that the blush for their disgrace and vileness may fall the more on their sordid conscience, let each one place before his eyes the devil with his servants. . . . The sacrilegious barrenness and the thoughts of the rich darkened by a certain night of shadows—by what reasoning shall we defend these, by what excuse shall we acquit them? Christ has given His commands to us; in promising a reward to those who do good, threatening punishment to the unfruitful, He has pronounced His sentence. What excuse can there be for the sluggard? What defense for the unfruitful?[205] Thus Cyprian employs the Scriptural terms. The

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[193] 11.405. 3 *maledicta terra erit in omnibus operibus tuis,*
in tristitia et gemitu edes ex ea omnibus diebus uitae tuae.
spinas et tribulos eiciet tibi et edes pabulum agri
(Cf. Gen. 3. 17,18).

[s] Cf. Watson, p. 203.

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[194] 2.188. 8 quid magis uelle ac tenere nos conuenit,
quam ut *radicibus* fortius *fixis*
et domiciliis nostris super petram robusta mole solidatis
inconcussi ad procellas et turbines saeculi stemus,

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[195] 3.189.12 *flos* est ille (uirgines) *ecclesiastici germinis,*
decus adque ornamentum gratiae spiritalis,
laeta indoles, . . .
gaudet per illas adque in illis largiter *floret*
ecclesiae matris *gloriosa fecunditas,*

[196] 6.192. 2 *clama,* inquit Esaiae Deus, *omnis caro faenum*
et omnis claritas eius ut flos faeni.
aruit faenum et flos decidit.
sermo autem Domini manet in aeternum
(Cf. Isa. 40. 6-9).

[197] 11.195.12 possessiones tibi sed caelestes magis conpara,
ubi *fructus tuos* iuges ac perennes
et ab omni contactu iniuriae saecularis inmunes

[198] 20.201.16 sic *flos uirginum* extinguitur,
honor continentiae ac pudor caeditur,
gloria omnis ac dignitas profanatur.

[199] 21.202.14 primus cum *centeno martyrum fructus* est,
secundus *sexagenarius* uester est—(fructus uirginum)

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[200] 10.218.21 sic probantur *fideles,* sic *perfidi* deteguntur,
sic et ante iudicii diem hic quoque
iam iustorum adque iniustorum animae diuiduntur
et a *frumento paleae* separantur.

[201] 17.225.19 sicut scriptum est: *saepi aures tuas spinis*
et noli audire linguam nequam
(Cf. Eccli. 28. 28).

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[202] 20.282. 1 Docet non tantum contemnendas sed et periculosas esse diuitias,
illic esse *radicem malorum blandientium,*
caecitatem mentis humanae occulta deceptione fallentium,

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[203] 9.380.18 item beatus apostolus Paulus dominicae inspirationis gratia plenus,
qui administrat, inquit, *semen seminanti*
et panem ad edendum praestabit
et multiplicabit seminationem uestram
et augebit incrementa frugum iustitiae uestrae,
ut in omnibus locupletemini
(Cf. 2 Cor. 9. 10,11).
10.382. 1 *radix enim omnium malorum est cupiditas* (1 Tim. 6. 10).

[204] 15.385. 9 pudeat diuites *sterilitatis* adque infelicitatis suae.

[205] 22.390. 1 Adque ut pigros et *steriles*
et cupiditate nummaria nihil circa *fructum salutis* operantes
magis pudeat,
ut plus conscientiam sordidam
dedecoris ac turpitudinis suae rubor caedat,
ponat unusquisque ante oculos suos diabolum cum seruis suis

early Christian believers, having sold and distributed their patrimony, transferred their lands thither where they may receive the fruits of eternal possession.[206] Abraham trusting in God and establishing the root and foundation of faith, when tried through his son, obeyed with entire patience of devotion.[207] There is need of patience that hope and faith may attain their fruit.[208] Malachy prophesies that in the day of the Lord all strangers and all the wicked shall be stubble which the Lord shall burn.[209] Jealousy widely spread is a fruitful destruction, the root of all evils, seed-bed of crimes.[210] The jealous should tear from their hearts the

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23.391. 1 *sacrilegas sterilitates*
et quadam tenebrarum nocte coopertas diuitum mentes
qua ratione defendimus,
qua excusatione purgamus? . . .
praecepta ille nobis dedit, . . .
operantibus praemium pollicitus
et supplicium *sterilibus comminatus*
sententiam suam protulit, . . .
quae potest excusatio esse cessanti,
quae defensio *sterili?*

[206] 25.393.14 (credentium populus) terreno patrimonio uendito adque distracto
fundos illuc transferentes
ubi *fructus* caperent *possessionis aeternae.*

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[207] 10.404. 2 sic Abraham Deo credens
et *radicem* ac fundamentum *fidei* primus instituens
temptatus in filio non dubitat neque cunctatur,
sed praeceptis Dei tota patientia deuotionis obsequitur.

[208] 13.406.15 ut autem peruenire spes et fides ad *fructum* possint
sui patientia opus est.

[209] 22.413.16 Quando autem ueniat sanguinis iusti diuina uindicta
declarat per Malachin prophetam Spiritus sanctus dicens:
ecce dies Domini uenit ardens uelut clibanus,
eruntque omnes alienigenae et omnes iniqui stipula,
et succendet illos adueniens dies, dicit Dominus.
(Cf. Mal. 4. 1).

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[210] 6.422.26 late patet zeli multiplex et *fecunda pernicies.*
radix est *malorum omnium,*
fons cladium,
seminarium delictorum,
materia culparum.

thorns and thistle that the seed of the Lord may enrich them with its fertile fruits, that the divine and spiritual grain-field may abound unto the abundance of a fruitful harvest.[211]

Flos . . . ecclesiastici germinis, laeta indoles . . . in illis largiter floret ecclesiae matris gloriosa fecunditas applied to virgins fairly established this figure. *Flos extinguitur,* however, mixes the metaphor. *Fructus cum centeno* for the hundredfold and *sexagenarius* for the sixtyfold seem without precedent. In *pudeat diuites sterilitatis adque infelicitatis suae,* both from context and Cyprian's habit of using almost synonymous pairs, *infelicitatis* evidently means unfruitfulness not unhappiness, its usual meaning.

In the passage from *De Zelo et Liuore* quoted above bidding the jealous tear the thorns and thistles from their hearts there is a rather unusual pair of balanced clauses *ut te dominicum semen fertili fruge locupletet,* and *ut diuina et spiritalis seges in copiam fecundae messis exuberet* in which *ut, ut; dominicum, diuina; semen, spiritalis seges; fertili fruge, fecundae messis* show alliteration; *locupletet* and *exuberet,* end rime.

Flowers, Crowns and Palms

Justification for including crowns and crowning together with palms under the heading of flowers may be found in a passage from *De Opere et Eleemosynis*: A glorious and divine thing, dearest brethren, is the saving work of bounty . . . a crown of peace without the peril of persecution. For this palm of saving deeds of mercy let us gladly and promptly strive. . . . If unencumbered, if swift, if running in this race of good works, the day either of rendering back our soul to God, or of persecution finds us, never shall the Lord fail in the reward for our merits; in peace, to the winning He will give a white crown for their acts of charity; in persecution, He will add a purple one for their suffering.[212]

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[211] 17.431.11 euelle de pectore tuo *spinas et tribulos,*
ut te *dominicum semen fertili fruge* locupletet,
ut *diuina et spiritalis seges*
in copiam *fecundae messis exuberet.*

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[212] 26.394. 14 praeclara et diuina res, fratres carissimi, salutaris operatio, . . .
sine periculo persecutionis *corona pacis,* . . .

Even had flowers not been named elsewhere it would not be likely that anything but wreaths of flowers could be white or purple whatever shades of red and violet *purpureus* meant to the people of that day.[t] In *Octavius* 38. 2-4, which shows close resemblance to the *Apologeticum* 42. 6, Minucius Felix explains the Christian failure to wear crowns on their heads, somewhat as Tertullian does briefly in the *Apologeticum,* at great length in the *De Corona*: whether they twine their flowers into garlands for their necks or strew them about loose, Christians choose to enjoy the beauty of hue or the sweet perfume by sniffing the fragrance with their noses and not through their back hair. The *Octavius,* moreover, adds reasons for their not crowning the dead: if he is happy he has no need of flowers; if he is unhappy, he can not enjoy them. We weave no fading crown, but expect from God a living crown of eternal flowers. Whether or not this suggested Cyprian's thought he liked it well enough to repeat. It occurs also in Epistle 8 where the flowers are specified by name, and later writers adopted it freely, especially St. Jerome.

The virgins if they are to glory in the flesh should wait until that flesh has won its crown by enduring the fires, crosses, iron, or beasts of persecution.[213] Though heretics and schismatics who would violate the unity of the Church lose their lives to the persecutors, the crown of faith will not be theirs; they can be slain,

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ad hanc operum salutarium *palmam*
libenter ac prompte certemus, . . .
si expeditos,
si celeres,
si in hoc operis agone currentes
dies nos uel redditionis uel persecutionis inuenerit,
nusquam Dominus meritis nostris ad praemium deerit,
in pace uincentibus *coronam candidam* pro operibus dabit,
in persecutione *purpuream* pro passione geminabit.

[t] Cf. Price, p. 13.

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[213] 6.192. 7 aut si carne sit gloriandum,
tunc plane . . . quando ignes aut cruces
aut ferrum aut bestias patitur ut *coronetur.*

they cannot be crowned.[214] God does not threaten to take away the crown of justice unless because justice departs it is necessary for the crown also to depart.[215] The pure brow bearing the sign of God could not endure the crown of the devil; it has reserved itself for the crown of the Lord.[216] One only cause of grief saddens the heavenly crowns of the martyrs, the spiritual glories of the confessors: that is the fate of the lapsed.[217] If the faith which has conquered is crowned, perfidy when conquered needs must also be punished. Let no one destroy their glories and their crowns.[218] When there is conflict for the Lord's name and honor, to show in speech the constancy whereby we confess; in torture the confidence with which we advance to do battle; in death the patience whereby we are crowned—this it is to wish to be a coheir of Christ, this it is to do the command of Christ, this it is to fulfill the will of the Father.[219] Such as Abel, peaceful and just, are crowned by the

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DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[214] 14.223. 7 ardeant licet flammis et ignibus traditi uel obiecti bestiis
animas suas ponant,
non erit illa *fidei corona* sed poena perfidiae . . .
occidi talis potest,
coronari non potest.

[215] 20.228.12 quod utique Dominus non minaretur auferri posse *coronam iustitiae,*
nisi quia recedente iustitia recedat necesse est et *corona.*

DE LAPSIS

[216] 2.238. 6 frons cum signo Dei pura *diaboli coronam* ferre non potuit,
coronae se *Domini* reseruauit.

[217] 4.239. 9 Has martyrum *caelestes coronas,*
has confessorum glorias spiritales, . . .
maestitia una contristat,

[218] 20.252.14 porro si fides quae uicerit *coronatur,*
necesse est et uicta perfidia puniatur. . . .
nemo eorum glorias destruat et *coronas.*

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[219] 15.278. 3 quando de eius nomine et honore certamen est,
exhibere in sermone constantiam qua confitemur,
in quaestione fiduciam qua congredimur,
in morte patientiam qua *coronamur:*
hoc est coheredem Christi uelle esse
hoc est praeceptum Dei facere,
hoc est uoluntatem patris inplere.

Lord; such in the day of judgment will be vindicated, avenged with the Lord.[220] When there has been victory in the engagement of battle, then is a crown given to the conquering.[221] The soul devoted to good is crowned when God sits in judgment.[222] The concluding passage of *De Mortalitate,* possibly a forerunner of the *Te Deum,* tells of heaven: There the glorious choir of the apostles, there the throng of exulting prophets, there the innumerable multitude of martyrs, crowned for their glory and victory of their strife and passion, there the triumphant virgins and the merciful![223] Giving the example of perfect patience, Our Lord was crowned with thorns, He who crowns the martyrs with everlasting flowers; with palms was He struck in the face, He who awards true palms to the conquering[224]—this last, an unusually strained play on words with utterly different meanings, is but a part of a larger and more effective whole already discussed in its entirety under the heading, Sun. So many prophets slain, so many martyrs honored by glorious deaths, all attained their heavenly crowns by the praise of patience, for the crown of sorrows and sufferings cannot be received unless patience in sorrow and suffering precedes.[225] In the Apocalypse we read: *Hold fast that which thou hast, lest another take thy crown.* This voice exhorts us to persevere patiently and bravely, so that he who presses on to the crown with praise already near, by lasting patience may be crowned.[226] What a palm of justice it is, what a crown to be such a man as Christ can approve![227] For there is not only one crown for the Christian man which is received in time of persecution. Peace also has its crowns with which victors from varied and manifold conflict, having brought low and subdued their adversary, are crowned. To have subdued lust is the palm of continency; to have battled against anger, against injury is the crown of patience. . . . In this racecourse of virtues we run daily, for to these palms and crowns of justice we come without intermission of time.[228]

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[220] 24.285.14 tales denique a Domino *coronantur,*
tales in die iudicii cum Domino uindicabuntur.

DE MORTALITATE

[221] 12.304.18 cum fuerit in pugnae congressione uictoria,
tunc datur uincentibus et *corona.*

[222] 17.308. 2 animus ad bonum deditus Deo iudice *coronatur.*

[223] 26.313.27 illic apostolorum gloriosus chorus,
illic prophetarum exultantium numerus,
illic martyrum innumerabilis populus
ob certaminis et passionis gloriam et uictoriam *coronatus*
triumphantes uirgines . . . remunerati misericordes

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[224] 7.402.13 (Dominus) *coronaretur spinis*
qui martyras *floribus coronat aeternis*
palmis in faciem uerberaretur
qui *palmas ueras* uincentibus tribuit,

[225] 10.404.19 tot denique prophetae interfecti,
tot martyres gloriosis mortibus honorati,
qui omnes ad *caelestes coronas patientiae* laude uenerunt.
neque enim potest accipi *dolorum et passionum corona,*
nisi praecedat in dolore et passione patientia.

This frequent use of *corona* or its corresponding verb, and less frequent use of *palma,* always associated with spiritual victory in some conflict, indicates that the rewards and joys of heaven were still too undetermined to tempt even the rhetorician to essay a description. St. Paul himself had declared them beyond the power of human conception and had adopted the conventional awards for success and triumph. Waving palm branches, fragrant garlands and wreaths of many-hued flowers were, therefore, not out of harmony with St. Cyprian's idea of heaven nor necessarily with ours.

Only with reference to the crown of the devil, probably the crown worn during the pagan sacrifices, does St. Cyprian apparently allude to earthly crowns of real flowers; he therefore evades the entire issue raised by Tertullian in the treatise *De Corona.* Of course there is a crown common to the Scripture, but nothing indicates that to be a crown of flowers.

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[226] 13.407.12 *tene quod habes ne alius accipiat coronam tuam*
(Cf. Apoc. 3. 11).
quae uox adhortatur patienter et fortiter perseuerare,
ut qui ad *coronam* laude iam proxima nititur
durante patientia *coronetur.*

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[227] 15.430. 8 quae *iustitiae palma* est,
quae *corona* esse te talem,

[228] 16.430.20 non enim *christiani hominis corona* una est
quae tempore persecutionis accipitur.
habet et pax *coronas* suas,
quibus de uaria et multiplici congressione
uictores prostrato et subacto aduersario
coronamur.
libidinem subegisse *continentiae palma* est.
contra iram, contra iniuriam repugnasse *corona patientiae*
est. . . .
in hoc uirtutum stadio cotidie currimus,
ad has iustitiae *palmas et coronas*
sine intermissione temporis peruenimus.

Animals

Beasts, Birds, Fish

As in all his thought, the Scriptures have left traces easily discernible throughout Cyprian's infrequent allusions to animal life, and to the products derived therefrom which have been placed here because associated in thought and vocabulary. The virgins are exhorted to glory in the flesh only when it has endured the tortures of wild beasts that so it might be crowned.[229] In the Apocalypse the woman appears seated upon a beast.[230] In one of a series of rhetorical questions the Bishop asks whether the mere fact that flocks of cattle abound in their fields creates an obligation to immolate them as victims and sacrifices[231]—in pagan temples is implied, of course, since Christians offered only the Holy Sacrifice. The inclusion of *sericus* here may seem farfetched; undoubtedly the word was but slightly associated in the Carthaginian mind with the silk worm which produced the fabric so popular for the apparel of wealth, and probably still less with the Far Eastern *Seres* who cultivated them. As the daughters of Sion had been upbraided for glorying in their silken attire, so too the virgins of Carthage are admonished that having put on silk and purple they cannot put on Christ.[232] Wool also was dyed and colored by means

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DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[229] 6.192. 7 aut si carne sit gloriandum, tunc plane . . .
quando fortior femina uiris torquentibus inuenitur,
quando ignes aut cruces aut ferrum aut *bestias*
patitur ut coronetur.

[230] 12.196. 7 *uidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam* (Apoc. 17. 3):

[231] 11.195.21 quia abundant *pecudum greges* in agris tuis,
uictimas et hostias inmolare debebis?

[232] 13.196.22 *et auferet Dominus gloriam uestis illarum . . .*
serica contexta cum auro et hyacintho
(Cf. Isa. 3. 22). . . .
sericum et purpuram indutae Christum induere non possunt,
auro et margaritis et monilibus adornatae

of shell fish but not through any divine instruction,[233] the Bishop reminds them. In the matter of cultivating the murex and producing purple dye, however, the famous one-time colonists of Phoenicia were undoubtedly past masters and felt need of no instruction. The *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* contains one of the few extended passages on a single theme: the dove as a symbol of the Holy Spirit. In the opening lines echoing the Scriptural warning to be simple unto innocence or harmlessness yet prudent withal, the dove is merely suggested in contrast with the serpent,[234] and later, quoting the Canticle of Canticles, the Holy Spirit is represented as designating the Church in the words: *One is my dove, my perfect one is but one,*[235] but finally the dove is described to prove its worthiness to represent the Holy Spirit: a simple, joyous creature, not bitter with gall—this one idea is borrowed from Tertullian's *De Anima*—not savage in its bite nor fierce in rending with its claws: it loves human dwellings, learns the association of one family and home. Having mated, the pair share the labor of caring for their young; flying forth all keep close together on the wing, spending their lives in mutual intercourse, with the kiss of their bill sealing the concord of peace, in all things fulfilling the law of unanimity. Such is the simplicity which must be found, such the charity which must be won in the Church that brotherly love may imitate the doves, that in meekness and gentleness it may emulate lambs and sheep. For what place in the Christian heart is there for the fierceness of wolves, the madness of dogs, the deadly poison of serpents, the bloodthirsty savagery of wild beasts. We must be grateful when natures such as these become separated from the Church lest they prey upon the doves and the sheep of Christ with cruel and envenomed contagion.[236]

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[233] 14.197.17 Neque enim Deus . . . *conchyliis* tinguere et colorare lanas
docuit

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[234] 1.209. 3 cum esse nos iubeat ad innocentiam *simplices*
et tamen cum *simplicitate* prudentes, quid aliud, . . .
quam prouidere nos conuenit?

[235] 4.213. 5 Spiritus sanctus ex persona Domini designat et dicit:
una est columba mea, perfecta mea,
una est matri suae, electa genetrici suae (Cant. 6. 8).

This is a perfect illustration of Cyprian's practice—combining the well-known every-day world about him with the Scriptures which were rapidly becoming equally well-known, exactly as Christ Himself did to teach his lessons; an illustration too of a perfectly wrought passage, worthy of its subject—as examination of the excerpt proves. The dove, long a symbol of Carthage as of their beloved pagan goddess Tanit, must have dwelt on many a friendly housetop. Its way could be observed. The homely little details are not just the conventional words of the ancients; they spring from the heart of a kindly man who has watched his dovecotes with friendly if not affectionate interest, whose love for his brothers in the faith was simple and sincere, whose open-hearted acceptance of the Holy Spirit had been proved by his own emulation of the dove's symbolic character.[u] In this paragraph Cyprian perhaps painted the truest portrait of his own soul.

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[236] 9.217.18 Idcirco et in *columba* uenit Spiritus sanctus:
simplex animal et laetum est,
non felle amarum,
non morsibus saeuum,
non unguium laceratione uiolentum,
hospitia humana diligere,
unius domus consortium nosse,
cum generant simul filios edere,
cum commeant uolatibus inuicem cohaerere,
communi conuersatione uitam suam degere,
oris osculo concordiam pacis agnoscere,
legem circa omnia unanimitatis inplere.
haec est in ecclesia noscenda simplicitas,
haec caritas obtinenda,
ut *columbas* dilectio fraternitatis imitetur,
ut mansuetudo et lenitas *agnis* et *ouibus* aequetur.
quid facit in pectore christiano *luporum feritas*
et *canum rabies*
et *uenenum letale serpentum*
et *cruenta saeuitia bestiarum?*
gratulandum est, cum tales de ecclesia separantur,
ne *columbas,*
ne *oues* Christi
saeua sua et uenenata contagione praedentur.

[u] Cf. Cabrol-Leclerc, Art. "Colombe," 2203-2213.

Speaking of his own pain caused by the wounds in the Church made by the defection of the lapsed, the Bishop voices the ancient truism that the shepherd is most wounded by the wound to his flock.[237] Among the prime causes of their defection he places blind love for wealth, quoting St. Paul to Timothy: *They that will become rich fall into temptation and snares and into many and hurtful desires which drown men into perdition and destruction.*[238] The old text used by Cyprian, however, employed the word *muscipula,* a popular or vulgar word for a little trap or mousecatcher which Jerome was to replace in the Vulgate by *laqueum diaboli,* a more exact rendering of the Greek as well as more appropriate for the Scriptures. Whether or not Cyprian had a Greek text at hand, his repeated use of this passage would indicate that he enjoyed the opportunity to belittle Satan's wiles as mere mousetraps able to catch no larger game, and at the same time to suggest to his people that only when they make themselves as small and ridiculous as a mouse, pilfering in kitchen or storehouse, can the enemy of souls catch them in his toils. There would seem to be a twinkle in his eye if not a chuckle at the thought, reminiscent of Horace and his *ridiculus mus.* Certainly Cyprian had proved himself far too large game for the snare of avarice. Having obeyed the divine injunction and sold what he had and given it to the poor, so far as he personally was concerned, he could afford to smile at the pettiness of Satan's bait, though he fully realized its dangers for his people.

Here also there is reference to the claw—*ungula*—with which torturers tore the flesh of unresisting victims.[239] Again too, God threatens to destroy the land which transgressed against Him—not only man but beast.[240] Treating the first words of the Lord's

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DE LAPSIS

[237] 4.239.23 plus pastor in *gregis* sui uulnere uulneretur.

[238] 12.245.13 hoc tempus, hos homines apostolus denotat dicens:
qui autem uolunt diuites fieri
incidunt in temptationem et muscipula et desideria multa
et nocentia
quae mergunt hominem in perditionem et in interitum
(Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 9).

[239] 13.246.18 nunc *ungula* effoderet,

[240] 19.251.21 *terra,* inquit, (propheta Exechiel) *quaecumque peccauerit mihi*
ut delinquat delictum, . . .
auferam ab ea hominem et pecora (Cf. Ezech. 14. 13).

prayer Isaias is quoted voicing God's rebuke of the Jews who had rejected their Father, saying that though the ox knows its owner and the ass its master's crib, Israel His own people had not known Him, wherefore the Christians say *Our Father* in condemnation of them.[241] To justify our prayer for bread alone, the necessities of life, the mousetrap passage is quoted again as a warning against avarice and the temptation to accumulate against a day of want.[242] But daily bread can never be wanting to the just man, for while the hungry beasts spared Daniel in the lion's den, dinner was divinely provided for him and amid wild beasts, hungering yet sparing him, the man of God was fed; Elias was fed by ravens ministering unto him, a lesson concluded by a dramatical contrast: O detestable cruelty of human malice! wild beasts spare, birds bring food, and men lurk in ambush and rage.[243]

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[241] 10.273.15 per Esaiam prophetam Deus clamat indignans:
filios generaui et exaltaui, ipsi autem me spreuerunt.
agnouit bos possessorem suum
et asinus praesepium domini sui:
Israel autem me non cognouit et populus me non intellexit
(Cf. Isa. 1. 2,3). . . .
in quorum exprobrationem christiani quando oramus
pater noster dicimus,

[242] 19.281. 3 qui saeculo renuntiauimus et diuitias eius et pompas . . .
abiecimus
cibum nobis tantum petamus et uictum, . . .
qui autem uolunt diuites fieri
incidunt in temptationem et muscipulas
(Note variant form) (Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 9).

[243] 21.282.27 nam cum Dei sint omnia, habenti Deum nihil deerit,
si Deo ipse non desit.
sic Danieli in *leonum* lacum iussu regis incluso
prandium diuinitus procuratur
et inter *feras esurientes et parcentes*
homo Dei pascitur.
sic alitur Helias in fuga et solitudine
coruis ministrantibus
et *uolucribus* cibum sibi *adportantibus*
in persecutione nutritur.
adque—o humanae malitiae detestanda crudelitas!—
ferae parcunt,
aues pascunt,
et homines insidiantur et saeuiunt!

The *De Mortalitate* has but one reference here—this to the worms by which Job was afflicted in his trial.[244] The *De Opere et Eleemosynis* quotes St. Matthew and the Lord's command to store up treasures where neither moth nor rust consume,[245] and St. Paul with the mousetrap again, warning men to beware lest while they fear the loss of their patrimony they perish because of their patrimony.[246] To fear lest their resources fail should they begin to do good with them, is folly since Elias was fed by ministering ravens, and Daniel in the lion's den had his dinner divinely prepared. In the Gospel, too, those of little faith are admonished to behold the birds of the air, of far less consequence than they, which neither sow, nor reap, nor gather into barns yet are fed by their heavenly Father. God feeds the birds, and sparrows are furnished their daily food, and these creatures with no sense of the divine, want neither drink nor food; is it likely, think you, that the Christian, the servant of God, dedicated to good works, dear to His Lord, should want for anything?[247] That passage well il-

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DE MORTALITATE

[244] 10.302. 9 Sic Iob post rerum damna, post pignerum funera uulneribus quoque
et *uermibus grauiter adflictus* non uictus est sed probatus,

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[245] 7.378.19 in euangelio Dominus doctor uitae nostrae
et magister salutis aeternae . . . mandat . . .
nolite uobis condere thesauros super terram,
ubi tinea et comestura exterminat . . .
thesaurizate autem uobis thesauros in caelo,
ubi neque tinea neque comestura exterminat
(Cf. Matt. 6. 19,20).

[246] 10.381.18 dum times ne pro te patrimonium perdas,
ipse pro patrimonio pereas. . . .
qui autem uolunt diuites fieri incidunt in temptationem
et muscipula (Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 9).

[247] 11.382. 4 Metuis ne patrimonium tuum forte deficiat,
si operari ex eo largiter coeperis? . . .
Helias in solitudine *coruis ministrantibus* pascitur
et Danieli in lacum (ad) *leonum* (praedam) iussu regis incluso
prandium diuinitus apparatur:

lustrates Cyprian's method of developing a text. Wild beasts as one source of the martyr's suffering,[248] the gnawing pain of worms as they consume Job's dripping wasting limbs,[249] the Jews demanding the head of an ox and an earthen image as guides for their march,[250] patience as a bridle for the tongue are merely referred to in the *De Bono Patientiae.*[251] Slight references only occur also in *De Zelo et Liuoris* to Peter warning his people about the devil as a lion seeking whom he may devour,[252] jealousy as a

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et tu metuis ne operanti et Dominum promerenti desit alimentum,
quando ipse in euangelio ad exprobrationem eorum
quibus mens dubia est et fides parua contestetur
et dicat:
aspicite uolatilia caeli quoniam non seminant
neque metunt neque colligunt in horrea,
et pater uester caelestis alit illa.
nonne uos pluris estis illis (Cf. Matt. 6. 26).
uolucres Deus pascit
et *passeribus* alimenta diurna praestantur
et *quibus nullus diuinae rei sensus est*
eis nec potus
nec cibus deest:
tu christiano,
tu Dei seruo,
tu operibus bonis dedito,
tu domino suo caro aliquid existimas defuturum?

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[248] 12.405.26 gladius, *bestiae,* ignes, cruces,
omnia denique tormentorum ac poenarum genera
fide et uirtute patientiae perferenda

[249] 18.410. 8 accedit uulnerum uastitas
et tabescentes ac fluentes artus
uermium quoque *edax poena* consumit.

[250] 19.411. 7 profanos deos ausus est postulare,
ut itineris sui duces nuncuparet *caput bubulum*
et terrestre figmentum,

[251] 20.411.26 patientia est quae . . . linguam *frenat,*

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[252] 1.419.17 Petrus apostolus in epistula sua praemonet et docet dicens:
sobrii estote, uigilate,
quia aduersarius uester diabolus
tamquam leo rugiens aliquid deuorare quaerens
circuit (Cf. 1 Peter 5. 8).

gnawing worm (*tinea*), a moth of the soul, and also as a torturer striking at the secret depths of the heart with claws of malevolence,[253] whence come gnashing of teeth, rabid words, unbridled quarrelling.[254] These adjectives suggest fierce beasts, mad dogs, wild horses unbroken and uncurbed. *Effrenata* with *conuicia* is cited only for Cyprian, and *uermium edax poena* for worms is an unusual but characteristic paraphrase.

Flocks: Sheep, Lambs, Goats, Wolf—Metaphorical

For the North Africans no less than the sheep-raising people of Palestine, shepherds, flocks of sheep or goats, and wolves, their natural foe, afford rich matter for figure or illustration. Wherefore Cyprian, aware of the burden of this new pastoral responsibility and apprehending danger to the most precious part of his charge, begins his salutary admonitions by reminding the virgins of God's promise to give them shepherds according to His own heart who would feed them with discipline.[255] He addresses them as the more illustrious portion of the flock of Christ[256] destined to follow the Lamb, whithersoever He goeth.[257] Peter is identified in words so like the ones in the disputed passage in *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* as to constitute strong evidence in favor of its authenticity, as the one to whom the Lord confided His sheep to be fed and watched over.[258] Sheep abounding in their fields need not for that reason be sacrificed to pagan gods.[259] God made no scarlet or purple sheep nor taught men to dye and color their wool by juices of herbs and shell fish.[260] These two facts, the latter suggested by Tertullian in his *De Cultu Feminarum,* pertain to real, not figurative sheep but are introduced in the spirit of the metaphor. Wives who have recourse to artifice to enhance their beauty in order to please their husbands should weigh carefully their justification; virgins, however, who resort to such devices ought not be numbered among virgins, but like tainted sheep and diseased cattle should be kept away from the pure and holy flock of virginity, lest by their mere contact they pollute the others.[261] The *De Catholicae Ecclesiae Unitate* naturally figures the Church as Christ Himself did; that is, as sheep of His flock. The disputed passage follows the sentence: "Upon one He builds His Church," continuing with:—and to the same He says after His resurrection: *Feed my sheep.* Upon that one He builds His Church, and to him He entrusts His sheep to be fed—a phrase differing but slightly from *De Habitu Virginum* 10. 194. 25. The primacy is given to Peter that the Church and the chair may be shown to be one. And all are shepherds but the flock is shown as one, to be fed, however, by all the apostles with unanimous consent.[262] Elsewhere

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[253] 7.423.17 Qualis uero est animae *tinea,*
quae cogitationum tabes,
pectoris quanta rubigo zelare in altero . . .
cogitationibus et sensibus suis adhibere tortores
qui se intestinis cruciatibus lacerent,
qui cordis secreta *maliuolentiae ungulis* pulsent.

[254] 8.424. 8 Hinc . . . *stridor* in dentibus,
uerba *rabida,*
effrenata conuicia,

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[255] 1.188. 2 Deus per Hieremiam ante praedixerit . . . dicens:
et dabo uobis pastores secundum cor meum,
et pascent uos pascentes cum disciplina (Cf. Jer. 3. 15).

[256] 3.189.15 (uirgines) inlustrior portio *gregis Christi.*

[257] 4.190.11 *hi sunt qui secuntur agnum, quocumque it* (Cf. Apoc. 14. 4).

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[258] 10.194.25 Petrus etiam, cui *oues* suas Dominus pascendas tuendasque commendat,
. . . esse se dicit Christi gratia diuitem,

[259] 11.195.21 quia abundant *pecudum greges* in agris tuis,
uictimas et hostias inmolare debebis?

[260] 14.197.17 Neque enim Deus *coccineas aut purpureas oues* fecit
aut herbarum sucis et conchyliis
tinguere et colorare *lanas* docuit

[261] 17.200. 3 uirgines certe, quibus hic sermo non consulit,
quae se eiusmodi artibus compserint,
inter uirgines non putem debere numerari
sed tamquam *contactas oues* et *morbidas pecudes*
a *sancto et puro grege uirginitatis* arceri,
ne contagio suo ceteras polluant,

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[262] 4.212.Int. Et iterum eidem (Petro) post resurrectionem suam dicit:
pasce oues meas (John 21. 17).
Super illum unum aedificat ecclesiam suam
et illi *pascendas* mandat *oues suas*. . . .

Christ is quoted saying: *There shall be one flock and one shepherd.* Can anyone think then that there can be in one place either many shepherds or many flocks?[263] Thanks must be given when disturbing elements are separated from the Church lest their very contagion work havoc among the sheep of Christ.[264] One who is attempting to foment heresy or schism, swelling with pride in his sin, delighting in his very crimes is separating children from their mother, enticing sheep from their shepherd, disturbing the sacraments of God.[265] The Last Day will witness Christ judging all nations of the world gathered before Him; as the shepherd separates sheep from goats so He places the sheep on His right but the goats on His left.[266] Then He will not be silent although once, as a sheep led to the slaughter and as a lamb without voice before the shearer, He opened not His mouth.[267] These two passages one from *De Opere et Eleemosynis,* the other from *De Bono*

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primatus Petro datur ut una ecclesia et cathedra una monstretur.
et *pastores* sunt omnes, sed *grex* unus ostenditur,
qui ab apostolis omnibus unanimi consensione *pascatur*

[263] 8.216.17 monet ipse in euangelio suo et docet dicens:
et erunt unus grex et unus pastor (Cf. John 10. 16).
et esse posse uno in loco aliquis existimat
aut multos *pastores* aut *greges* plures?

[264] 9.218. 2 gratulandum est, cum tales de ecclesia separantur, . . .
ne *oues Christi* saeua sua et uenenata contagione praedentur.

[265] 19.227.17 ille tumens in peccato suo et in ipsis sibi delictis placens
a matre filios segregat,
oues a pastore sollicitat,
Dei sacramenta disturbat.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[266] 23.391.13 *colligentur ante eum omnes gentes, et segregabit eos ab inuicem*
quemadmodum pastor segregat oues ab haedis,
et statuet oues a dextera sua, haedos autem a sinistra. (Cf. Matt. 25. 32,33).

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[267] 23.414.10 Quis autem est hic qui tacuisse se prius dicit
et non semper tacebit?
utique ille qui sicut *ouis* ad uictimam ductus
et sicut *agnus* coram tondente sine uoce
non aperuit os suum.

Patientiae are purely Scripture; in *De Zelo et Liuore,* however, there is an example of effective development of a Scriptural thought: We ought to remember by what name Christ calls His people, by what title He designates His flock. Sheep He names them, that Christian innocence may be likened to sheep; lambs He calls them, that the simple nature of lambs, the simplicity of their mind may imitate. Why does the wolf lie hid in sheep's clothing; why does he who falsely declares himself Christian dishonor the flock of Christ?[268]

Although in vocabulary there is nothing here of note, in two passages the style will bear comment. The first on the fomenter of heresy—*ille tumens in peccato suo et in ipsis sibi delictis placens a matre filios segregat, oues a pastore solicitat, Dei sacramenta disturbat*—where *tumens* to *placens* shows chiastic arrangement as also *a matre filios* and *oues a pastore; segregat, sollicitat* and *disturbat,* riming verbs; the whole passage an alliterative hiss of scorn for the pride-swollen upstart. The second from *De Zelo et Liuore* is the last just cited—*Meminisse debemus quo vocabulo plebem suam Christus appellet, quo titulo gregem suum nuncupet* —where from *quo* to the verbs each successive word rimes with the corresponding word in the other clause, except for *Christus* in the first. Continuing—*oues nominat ut innocentia christiana ouibus aequetur: agnus uocat, ut agnorum naturam simplicem simplicitas mentis imitetur. quid sub uestitu ouium lupus latitat, quid gregem Christi qui christianum se mentitur infamat,* where balanced phrases sufficiently varied to break the monotony show anaphora in the *ut* and *quid;* verbs, *nominat* and *uocat, aequetur* and *imitetur* rime alternately; *latitat* and *infamat* successively. This

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DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[268] 12.427. 1 Meminisse debemus quo uocabulo plebem suam Christus appellet,
quo titulo *gregem* suum nuncupet.
oues nominat,
ut innocentia christiana *ouibus* aequetur:
agnos uocat,
ut *agnorum* naturam simplicem simplicitas mentis imitetur.
quid sub *uestitu ouium lupus* latitat,
quid *gregem* Christi qui christianum se mentitur infamat?

means of pressing home an important lesson by effectively varied repetition, so common among pulpit orators, adds to the probability that these treatises had first been sermons delivered before the people.

Serpents and Poison

The serpent and his venom is always intimately associated with the thought of the evil spirit tempting and infecting with his poison, providing an effective figure since North African folk were not inexperienced in the danger of venomous reptiles, coiled by their pathway ready to strike the unwary. Scriptural though its basis may be, it was no less powerful and vivid as a metaphor. Because even the poison administered in a draught is sometimes *serpentinus,* it also is treated here. The virgins who by artifice enhance their charms may ruin others, and offer themselves, as it were, a sword and poison to their beholders.[269] If a man should die immediately after draining a cup one would know the potion contained poison.[270] In their vanity virgins have followed the devil and imitated the glittering blood-red and painted eyes of the serpent; adorned after the fashion of their foe, with him they are destined likewise to burn.[271] To safeguard the unity of the Catholic Church Christ warned His disciples to be not only simple as doves but prudent as serpents, to foresee and escape the snares of our wily foe who lies in wait to trap us, the more to be feared since no cause for fear appears. He creeps up stealthily, with covert advances crawling along—whence his name serpent.[272] Those

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DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[269] 9.194.13 alios tamen perdas et uelut gladium te et *uenenum*
uidentibus praebeas,

[270] 13.197.10 si hausto poculo moreretur ille qui biberat,
uenenum scires esse quod ille potauit:

[271] 17.199.22 illum (diabolum) tu sectata es,
rutilos adque depictos oculos *serpentis* imitata es,
de inimico tuo compta, cum illo pariter arsura.

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[272] 1.209. 3 cum esse nos iubeat ad innocentiam simplices
et tamen cum simplicitate *prudentes,*
quid aliud, fratres dilectissimi, quam prouidere nos conuenit
et sollicito corde uigilantes
subdoli hostis insidias intellegere pariter et cauere? . . .

who assume the episcopal chair unauthorized deceive with the serpent's mouth, vomiting out lethal poison from a plague-bearing tongue whose discourses infuse a deadly venom into the breasts and hearts of all.[273] The tongue which has once confessed Christ should never speak ill; after words of praise, never dart serpent's venom against the brethren and the priests of God.[274] During the long period of peace and relaxation Christians swore not only rashly but even falsely, despised those placed over them with haughty swelling pride, spoke evil of each other with envenomed tongue.[275] As an effective climax in a series of baneful results of excessive love of earthly possessions: those were the bonds of those who remained in the city, those the chains by which virtue was retarded and faith crushed and the mind conquered and the soul imprisoned, so that they who clung so closely to earthly things became the prey and food for the serpent who devours earth according to the sentence of God.[276] Only once *uirus* unquestionably

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facilior cautio est ubi manifesta formido est, . . .
plus timendus est et cauendus inimicus,
cum *latenter obrepit,*
cum per pacis imaginem *fallens occultis accessibus serpit,*
unde et nomen *serpentis* accepit.

[273] 10.218.27 (perfidi) quos designat in psalmis Spiritus sanctus
sedentes in pestilentiae cathedra,
pestes et lues fidei,
serpentis ore fallentes et corrumpendae ueritatis artifices,
uenena letalia linguis pestiferis euomentes:
quorum sermo ut cancer serpit,
(Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 17).
quorum tractatus pectoribus et cordibus
singulorum *mortale uirus* infundit.

[274] 21.229.12 lingua Christum confessa non sit maledica, . . .
non contra fratres et Dei sacerdotes post uerba laudis
serpentis uenena iaculetur.

DE LAPSIS

[275] 6.240.22 non iurare tantum temere sed adhuc et peierare,
praepositos superbo tumore contemnere,
uenenato sibi *ore* maledicere,
odiis pertinacibus inuicem dissidere.

[276] 11.244.19 illa fuerunt remanentibus uincula,
illae catenae quibus et uirtus retardata est
et fides pressa
et mens uincta
et anima praeclusa,

indicates other than a serpent's poison: The unskillful physician with gentle hand draws the swollen edges of a wound together, increasing the poison left deep enclosed.[277] Those who minimize the sin of the lapsed with mistaken leniency creep up with baleful speech unto deadly contagion. This is another persecution and another temptation through which the subtle foe steals up to attack the lapsed with secret destruction that their penitent lamentation may be quieted.[278] A woman unabsolved from her sin, who sacrilegiously received the Sacrament with the rest, received not food but a sword and, as one taking some deadly poisons into her throat and breast, she began forthwith to be wrung with anguish.[279] The words of those who are unmoved by their fall creep like a cancer, their speech leaps on like a contagion; noxious and envenomed persuasion kills more surely than persecution itself.[280] Wealth is to be avoided as an enemy, to be fled as a robber, to be feared by its possessors as sword and as poison.[281]

In the *De Mortalitate,* a comment on St. Paul's words, *For me to live is Christ and to die is gain,* explains that by death he is exempt from torturing afflictions and freed from the envenomed jaws of the devil, ready to set forth for the joy of eternal salva-

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ut *serpenti terram* secundum Dei sententiam *deuoranti*
praeda et cibus fierent qui *terrestribus inhaererent.*

[277] 14.247.17 inperitus est medicus
qui tumentes uulnerum sinus manu parcente contrectat
et altis recessibus uiscerum *uirus* inclusum
dum seruat exaggerat. (Not serpent's poison)

[278] 16.249. 9 persecutio est haec alia et alia temptatio,
per quam *subtilis inimicus* inpugnandis adhuc lapsis
occulta populatione *grassatur,*
ut lamentatio conquiescat,

[279] 26.256. 1 uelut quaedam *uenena letalia* intra fauces et pectus admittens
angi et anima exaestuante concludi postmodum coepit

[280] 34.262. 4 *sermo eorum sicut cancer serpit,* (Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 17).
conloquium uelut contagium transilit,
noxia et *uenenata persuasio* persecutione ipsa peius interficit.

[281] 35.263. 4 pro hoste uitanda res, pro latrone fugienda,
pro gladio metuenda possidentibus et *ueneno.*

tion at the call of Christ.[282] When the Lord coming had healed the wounds which Adam had borne and had cured the ancient poisons of the serpent He bade men sin no more lest some worse ill befall the sinner.[283] The Lord bade us be prudent and watchful lest the adversary ever watching himself and ever lying in wait, when he has crept into our heart may kindle flames from sparks of envy.[284] The jealous, St. Paul describes saying: *the poison of asps is under their lips and their mouth is full of malediction and bitterness.*[285] Such are admonished to eject the venom of gall, shut out the virus of discords, purge the mind infected with serpentine envy that all deep-lodged bitterness within may be sweetened by the sweetness of Christ.[286]

A whole vocabulary for subtle and deadly deception may be gathered from these excerpts, but *serpentinus* applied to *liuor* is the neologism with which Cyprian is credited in this field.

DE MORTALITATE

[282] 7.301. 1 beatus apostolus Paulus in epistula sua ponit et dicit:
mihi uiuere Christus est et mori lucrum (Cf. Phil. 1. 21) . . .
exemptum pressuris angentibus
et *uenenatis* diaboli *faucibus* liberatum
ad laetitiam salutis aeternae Christo uocante proficisci.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[283] 1.373.13 cum Dominus adueniens sanasset illa quae Adam portauerat uulnera
et *uenena serpentis antiqua* curasset,
legem dedit sano et praecepit ne ultra iam peccaret,
ne quid peccanti grauius eueniret.

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[284] 1.419. 7 porro autem Dominus prudentes esse nos iussit
et cauta sollicitudine uigilare praecepit,
ne aduersarius uigilans semper ipse et semper insidians
ubi in *pectus obrepsit* de scintillis conflet incendia,

[285] 8.424.15 hos (qui zelant) beatus apostolus Paulus designat . . . dicens:
uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum
et os eorum maledicto et amaritudine plenum est
(Cf. Rom. 3. 13, 14).

[286] 17.431.14 *uenena* fellis euome,
discordiarum uirus exclude,
purgetur mens quam *serpentinus liuor* infecerat,
amaritudo omnis quae intus insederat Christi dulcedine leniatur.

The serpent's venom as temptation induces sin: vanity, dissension, infidelity, avarice, impenitence, disobedience to God's law, envy. Like the serpent's poison, venom in figure usually proceeds from the mouth: heretical teaching, evil words against the clergy or brethren, false oaths, mistaken leniency toward sin, persuasion to sin, malediction.

Miscellaneous

Color

Once convinced of the urgent need for discipline among the virgins of Carthage, Cyprian naturally turned to his so-called "master" and found a group of treatises on kindred topics. Discriminating as always in his borrowings he was a keen enough psychologist himself to recognize just where Tertullian's knowledge of human nature in general and woman's nature in particular was of value. Hence he too treats of fashions in dress, in cosmetics, in coiffures—each of these bright and glowing with color. This is not precisely color in nature but borrowed or imitated and produced from nature. Women incidentally were not the only offenders; the *De Lapsis* castigates similar vanities in men.

The woman in the Apocalypse seated on the beast was robed in a purple and scarlet cloak.[287] Isaias inveighs against the daughters of Sion for their haughty and wanton manner, their manifold jewels, their silk woven with gold and hyacinth.[288] St. Cyprian warns the virgins that having put on silk and purple they cannot put on Christ, for God made no scarlet or purple sheep nor taught men how to dye and color the wool with the juices of herbs or shellfish. The sinful and apostate angels taught them how to heighten the color in their eyes by outlining them with black, and to tint the cheeks with the deception of redness, to alter the hair

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DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[287] 12.196. 7 *uidi mulierem sedentem super bestiam:*
et mulier illa amicta erat pallium purpureum et coccineum (Cf. Apoc. 17. 3,4).

[288] 13.196.22 *et auferet Dominus gloriam uestis illarum . . .*
serica contexta cum auro et hyacintho (Cf. Is. 3. 18). . . .
sericum et *purpuram* indutae
Christum induere non possunt,

by false colors and so to drive out all the truth of the head by the assault of their own corrupt arts.[289] The work of God, His creation and fashioning, ought in no wise be altered by applying yellow coloring or black dust or rouge or any other preparation which falsifies the natural lineaments lest God, like any other artist, show righteous indignation at the insult to His skill in such attempts to improve on His masterpiece.[290] Sincerity and truth cannot persist when the genuine are corrupted by adulterous colors, when truth is changed to falsehood by the redness of dyes. To triumph over the word of God which declares one cannot make one hair white or black, with sacrilegious impotence they dye their hair flame-color; dire portent, as it were, of fiery locks in their eternal future—a fantastic thought suggested by Tertullian. Although Scripture says of the Lord that His head and hair were white as wool or as snow, the ladies abominate grey hair, detesting whiteness even though it is like the head of the Lord.[291] A long series of charges hurled at the erring begins: You have defiled your skin with adulterous color, you have imitated the red and painted eyes of the serpent only to burn with him forever.[292] Among the concluding admonitions they are warned again that their face is not to be corrupted, their hair is not to be colored with dye.[293]

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[289] 14.197.17 Neque enim Deus *coccineas* aut *purpureas* oues fecit
aut herbarum sucis et conchyliis *tinguere*
et *colorare* lanas docuit. . . .
illi et oculos *circumducto nigrore fucare*
et genas mendacio *ruboris* inficere
et mutare *adulterinis coloribus* crinem
et expugnare omnem oris et capitis ueritatem
corruptelae suae inpugnatione docuerunt.

[290] 15.198. 7 opus Dei et factura eius et plastica adulterari nullo modo debeat
adhibito *flauo* colore
uel *nigro puluere*
uel *rubore*
aut quolibet denique liniamenta natiua
conrumpente medicamine. . . .
si quis *pingendi artifex* uultum alicuius
et speciem et corporis qualitatem *aemulo colore* signasset
et signato iam consummatoque simulacro manus alius adferret,
iam formata, *iam picta* quasi peritior reformaret,
grauis prioris artificis iniuria et iusta indignatio uideretur:

[291] 16.199. 4 num sinceritas preseuerat et ueritas,
quando quae sincera sunt polluuntur *colorum* adulteriis
medicaminum *fucis* in mendacium uera mutantur?
Dominus tuus dicit: *non potes facere capillum unum*
album aut nigrum: (Cf. Matt. 5. 36).

The *De Lapsis* beginning with a note of joy at the restoration of peace hails the white-robed company of the soldiers of Christ;[294] white here indicating the brightness of the glory of the confessors. Occasion arises in this treatise also, when recalling the evils which had weakened their souls during the peace before the Decian persecution, to discuss the personal vanities which prompted men to dress their beards and women to paint their faces, alter their eyes and hair with lying color after the hand of God had made them.[295] Those who have not actually sacrificed to false gods but in some way obtained the necessary certificates cannot really be with Christ when they redden or tremble at the mere charge.[296] Those also who

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et tu . . . sacrilego contemptu crines tuos inficis,
malo praesagio futurorum
capillos iam tibi *flammeos* auspicaris . . .
et cum scriptum sit de Domino:
caput autem eius et capilli erant albi uelut lana aut nix,
(Cf. Apoc. 1. 14).
tu execraris *canitiem,*
detestaris *alborem,* qui sit ad Domini caput similis!

[292] 17.199.19 cutem falso medicamine polluisti,
crinem *adultero colore* mutasti,
expugnata est mendacio facies,
figura corrupta est,
uultus alienus est.
illum tu sectata es,
rutilos adque *depictos oculos* serpentis imitata es,
de inimico tuo compta,
cum illo pariter arsura.

[293] 21.202. 3 sint . . . crines *nullo colore fucati,*
oculi conspiciendo Deo digni.

DE LAPSIS

[294] 2.237.17 adest militum Christi *cors candida,*

[295] 6.240.17 corrupta barba in uiris, in feminis *forma fucata:*
adulterati post Dei manus oculi, capilli *mendacio colorati.*

[296] 28.258. 7 quomodo potest esse cum Christo
qui ad Christum pertinere aut *erubescit* aut metuit?

have fallen cannot protest their repentance while they dye their hair. They ought to refrain from this at least in their contrition, and the eyes once painted with the circling line of black powder, they should wash with cleansing tears.[297] During the deadly pestilence, however, Christians are not to wear black garments as though mourning for their dear ones who in heaven have already put on robes of white. They would be falsifying their hope and faith, if what they say appears simulated, feigned, painted with deceitful color.[298] In the Apocalypse, the self-satisfied rich who are yet poor in virtue are admonished to buy of the Lord gold fire-tried that they may be clothed in a white garment, to anoint their eyes with collyrium that they may see—a passage expanded by Cyprian: through the purchase of a white garment by almsgiving, men once naked in Adam, hideous and unsightly, are clothed in the white robe of Christ; women whose eyes, once anointed with the black stibium of the devil but now with the collyrium of Christ, may see God through good works.[299] Not otherwise could eyes smeared about with black (*nigror*) see the needy poor.[300] The red blush (*rubor*) of shame should fall on the sluggards barren in good works because of their greed.[301] Those who conquer in time of peace will receive a white crown for their good works in time of persecution, a purple crown for their suffering.[302] Those slain for the Word of God will receive a white robe.[303]

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[297] 30.259.17 et quae capillos tuos *inficis* uel nunc in doloribus desine,
et quae *nigri pulueris* ductu oculorum liniamenta *depingis*
uel nunc lacrimis oculos tuos ablue.

DE MORTALITATE

[298] 20.309.17 praeceptum est, . . . ut publice praedicarem . . .
nec accipiendas esse hic *atras uestes,*
quando illi ibi *indumenta alba* iam sumpserint. . . .
spei nostrae et fidei praeuaricatores sumus,
si simulata,
si ficta,
si *fucata* uidentur esse quae dicimus.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

[299] 14.384. 1 audi in Apocalypsi Domini tui uocem
eiusmodi homines iustis obiurgationibus increpantem.
dicis, inquit, *diues sum et ditatus sum et nullius rei egeo:*
et nescis quoniam tu es miser et pauper et caecus et nudus.
suadeo tibi emere a me . . . uestem albam ut uestiaris
et non appareat in te foeditas nuditatis tuae,
et collyrio inungue oculos tuos ut uideas
(Cf. Apoc. 3. 17, 18). . . .
eme tibi *albam uestem,* ut qui secundum Adam nudus fueras
et horrebas ante deformis,
indumento Christi candido uestiaris.
et quae matrona locuples et diues es
ungue oculos tuos non *stibio* diaboli sed collyrio Christi,

The frequent use of *coloro, fuco, pingo, depingo, tinguo* and *erubesco* is not uncommon, but *nigror,* in formation similar to *rubor,* applied to the black cosmetic used to circle and darken the eyes, seems entirely original. The nouns: *color, albor, nigror,* and *rubor,* together with the adjectives *albus* and *candidus, coccineus* and *rutilus, flammeus* and *flauus, hyacinthus, purpureus* and its variant *purpurus, niger* and *ater* exhaust the color chart.

Purple or hyacinth and gold connote wealth or position. Scarlet for apparel, flame-color for hair, reddened cheeks, black-limned eyes suggest luxury, vanity, and vice; red, however, can be the blush of shame; black or dark-hued robes are already associated with mourning; white-robed is applied to the glorious army of confessors or faithful Christians; theirs too is the white crown; a purple crown represents the suffering of martyrs. The dove, representing the Holy Spirit in St. Cyprian, seems not yet to have been associated with the whiteness of our symbol.

Sounds, Odors, Taste

Not through the eyes alone does the material world of nature leave its impression on the sensitive soul of man. Sound, odor, and taste, each in its own way, attract or repel. These examples have been collected and are presented here simply to show that little if anything proceeds from any but a human source. Sound will be considered first: The virgins who felt that being rich they should use their wealth to enjoy its pleasures, are reminded that though God has given mankind a voice, it is not therefore necessary to sing love songs or coarse ditties.[304] Other sounds also, with one possible exception, are those of the human voice. The Church bewails and groans over her virgins.[305] God will multiply the sorrows and groans of women, but these the virgins need not fear.[306] The devil robbed of his devotees by the miracles of Christ—such as the dumb praying with loud voices and petitions—must devise new deceits.[307] Even among the confessors are such evils rife that the Church must groan in sorrow.[308] The devout voice of the faithful spoke (the name of) Christ, thereby confessing His name.[309] As it is characteristic of the impudent to be noisy with his shouts, so it befits the reverent to pray with modest petitions.[310] In the fiery furnace the three youths sang a hymn as with one voice.[311] In the exterior darkness there will be wailing and gnashing of teeth.[312] He only need fear to die for whom life means but tortures and

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[300] 15.384.18 Ceterum quae talis es nec operari in ecclesia potes:
egentem (enim) et pauperem non uident oculi superfusi
nigrore, tenebris et nocte contecti.

[301] 22.390. 1 Adque ut pigros et steriles
et cupiditate nummaria nihil circa fructum salutis operantes
magis pudeat,
ut plus conscientiam sordidam
dedecoris ac turpitudinis suae *rubor* caedat,
ponat unusquisque ante oculos suos diabolum cum seruis suis

[302] 26.394.27 in pace uincentibus *coronam candidam* pro operibus dabit,
in persecutione *purpuream* pro passione geminabit.

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[303] 21.413.12 *data est eis singulis* (*animis occisorum propter uerbum Dei*)
stola alba (Cf. Apoc. 6. 11).

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[304] 11.195.17 uocem Deus homini dedit,
et tamen non sunt amatoria *cantanda* nec turpia, . . .

[305] 20.201.15 Sic ergo frequenter ecclesia uirgines suas *plangit,* . . .

[306] 22.202.28 *multiplicabo,* inquit mulieri Deus, *tristitias tuas et gemitus tuos,* (Cf. Gen. 3. 16) . . .
uos mulierum tristitias et *gemitus* non timetis,

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[307] 3.211.12 muti *claris uocibus* et precibus orarent,

[308] 20.228. 4 numquam in confessoribus fraudes et stupra et adulteria postmodum uideremus
quae nunc in quibusdam uidentes *ingemescimus* et dolemus.

DE LAPSIS

[309] 2.237.21 religiosa *uox* Christum locuta est,

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[310] 4.268.21 nam ut inpudentis est *clamoribus strepere,*
ita contra congruit uerecundo modestis precibus orare.

[311] 8.271.18 *tunc* inquit, *illi tres tamquam ex uno ore hymnum canebant* (Cf. Dan. 3. 51).

[312] 13.276.16 *illic erit ploratio et stridor dentium* (Cf. Matt. 8. 12).

groans deferred.[313] Gnashing of teeth is listed among the marks of the bitterly envious man, and the Scripture says God shall laugh at the wicked, gnashing his teeth at the just.[314] Finally in *De Zelo et Liuore* there is one instance which may not refer to the human voice. The devil tempts our ears with melodious music that by our listening to sweet sound he may relax and enervate our Christian vigor.[315] There is, however, sufficient resemblance to the concluding words of the *Ad Donatum,* to indicate that the sound of the human voice raised in song was at least included in the thought —contrary though the thought itself appears. There Donatus is urged to sing the Psalms at their evening meal: Let our temperate festive meal resound with psalms, and as you have a retentive memory and a melodious voice take up this task as is your wont. You feast your dearest friends the more, if we have something spiritual to listen to; let religious charm delight our ears. *Vox canora* in this case—singing psalms—is a desirable and highly commendable source of pleasure; *spiritalis auditio* and *religiosa mulcedo* not only rime but emphasize the idea in *prolectet.* Here, however, the pleasure is frowned upon as spiritually enervating; the devil, moreover, proves that *canora musica* is a real delight, since he uses it as a temptation; and *soni dulcioris auditu* as his means of softening the vigorous soul is reasonable enough if

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DE MORTALITATE

[313] 14.306. 7 mori timeat cui hoc mora longiore confertur,
ut cruciatus eius et *gemitus* interim differatur.

DE ZELO ET LIUORE

[314] 8.424. 8 Hinc uultus minax, toruus aspectus,
pallor in facie, in labiis tremor,
stridor in dentibus,
uerba rabida, effrenata conuicia,
manus ad caedis uiolentiam prompta,
etiamsi a gladio interim uacua,
odio tamen furiatae mentis armata. . . .
obseruabit peccator iustum et stridet ad eum dentes suos
(Cf. Ps. 36. 12).

[315] 2.420. 3 offert *oculis formas inlices* et faciles uoluptates,
ut uisu destruat castitatem.
aures per *canora musica* temptat,
ut *soni dulcioris auditu* soluat et molliat christianum uigorem

amatoria cantanda nec turpia—the singing of obscene love songs—is what is meant and condemned as the hearing of a rarely sweet sound. Here may be noted the use of *ingemesco,* not *ingemisco,* and *ploratio* for wailing where the Vulgate has *fletus* in weeping and gnashing of teeth. *Ploratio* occurs also in the *Ad Demetrianum* 24.369.17 where Watson and Bayard cite it as a new word.[v]

Odor and taste are combined: Such delightful gifts of the gods as the fragrance of incense, and the bouquet of wine even apart from the exhilaration therefrom, have always been deemed highly acceptable for sacrifice. The virgins are asked whether the fact that the Lord has designed incense, wine, and fire necessitated their being sacrificed to idols.[316] That the dove is not bitter with gall, as Tertullian had said, is a thought which long persisted in Christian symbolism.[317] The Christian ought to flee shuddering at the sight of the altar of the devil smoking and reeking with its foul stench, redolent with a vile fetor—the odor of burning meat.[318] Those who have actually sacrificed turn from the devil's altar to the Holy of the Lord with their hands befouled and tainted with the stench; still fairly belching forth the death-bearing foods of idols, their jaws even now exhaling their crime and redolent of the deadly contagion, they fall upon the Body of the Lord.[319] In contrast to this deliberate multiplying of words to emphasize the foul stench of the sacrificial altars we find St. Paul's expression of gratitude for the Christian's generous gifts to him, as odors of sweetness, quite simply explained: when anyone has compassion on the poor he has rendered God his debtor; and when one gives to the least of Christ's brethren, he gives to God; spiritually he sacrifices to God odors of sweetness—quite different from that which Isaias said would be dust.[320] Christ who gave heavenly food was fed with gall; He who gave to drink from the cup of salvation was given vinegar to drink.[321] Of the envious he quotes St. Paul that their mouth was full of malediction and of bitterness,[322] later urging each of these unhappy men to vomit out the venom of gall that all the bitterness which had settled deep within may be made pleasant by the sweetness of Christ—when he takes food and drink from the sacrament of the cross, the wood which at Mara had availed in figure for sweetness of taste, avails in truth to make gentle a softened heart.[323] (Cf. Ex. 15.23-26.)

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[v] Cf. Watson, p. 302 and Bayard, p. 21; these studies, however, are both concerned primarily with the vocabulary of Cyprian and not with the Scriptures.

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[316] 11.195.19 aut quia *tura* et *merum* et ignem Dominus instituit,
sacrificandum est inde idolis,

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

[317] 9.217.18 simplex animal et laetum est, (columba) non *felle amarum,*

DE LAPSIS

[318] 8.243. 1 non diaboli altare quod *faetore taetro* fumare ac *redolere* conspexerat

[319] 15.248. 5 a diaboli aris reuertentes ad sanctum Domini
sordidis et infectis *nidore* manibus accedunt,
mortiferos idolorum cibos adhuc paene ructantes
exhalantibus etiam nunc scelus suum faucibus
et contagia funesta *redolentibus* Domini corpus inuadunt,

The sounds, as was intimated before, seem all to proceed from the human voice raised in pain: groaning, wailing, gnashing of

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DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

[320] 33.291.28 *saturatus sum,* inquit, *recipiens ab Epaphrodito ea*
quae a uobis missa sunt, odores suauitatis
(Cf. Phil. 4. 18), . . .
nam quando qui miseretur pauperi, Deo faenerat
et qui dat minimis Deo donat,
spiritaliter Deo *suauitatis odores* sacrificat.
Cf. 197. 1 *et erit pro odore suauitatis puluis* (Cf. Isa. 3. 24).

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

[321] 7.402.16 cibaretur *felle* qui cibum caelestem dedit,
aceto potaretur qui salubri poculo propinauit.

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

[322] 8.424.16 *uenenum aspidum sub labiis eorum*
et os eorum maledicto et amaritudine plenum est
(Cf. Rom. 3. 13,14).

[323] 17.431.14 uenena *fellis* euome,
discordiarum uirus exclude,
purgetur mens quam serpentinus liuor infecerat,
amaritudo omnis quae intus insederat Christi *dulcedine* leniatur.
de sacramento crucis et cibum sumis et potum,
lignum quod aput Merrham profecit in imagine
ad *saporis dulcedinem* tibi in ueritate proficiat
ad mulcendi pectoris lenitatem,
nec ad medellam prosperandae ualitudinis laborabis.

teeth; or in praise and petition: religious song and prayer. There seems no adversion to the sounds of nature herself from water, wind, bird or beast. Even the dove, so carefully described, could be given no voice that would suggest the whispering of the Holy Spirit. Fragrance of incense is associated with divine sacrifice; stench, reeking, fetid, foul—*nidor, faetor, redoleo, taeter*—all suggest pagan altars. Vinegar or acid (*acetum*) is mentioned only as given our Lord. Gall represents bitterness of taste, a figure of the bitterness of soul born of rancor or envy; sweetness of taste, as well as odors of sweetness, figures some phase of Christian charity.

C. SUMMARY

Unlike the *Ad Donatum* and the *Ad Demetrianum* which presented some occasion for direct treatment of nature for its own sake, the moral-ascetic or disciplinary treatises like the spiritual writings or religious homilies of today resort to nature only for illustration of some truth, for a symbol or figure of some abstraction. It is precisely in his extension and elaboration of a basically Scriptural metaphorical language that the greatest interest in Cyprian's use of nature and its vocabulary lies.

The sun and day, once pagan deities, are firmly established as symbols or titles of Christ. Though morning, made sacred by the resurrection, and the evening when the sun sets and day departs are designated as special times for prayer, neither during the day nor night should prayer be interrupted. The sun with its one light diffused in many rays illustrates the unity of the true Church. The impartial sun and day, stars and moon, which give light to just and unjust alike, illustrate both the charity and the patience of God. The sympathetic sun, withdrawing its rays and eyes from Calvary lest it behold the crime of the Jews, is an instance of real personification. Christ as the light is reflected in all truth and virtue; so too error, ignorance, evil and vice are variously typified by darkness, the shades of night, murk, and gloom.

Far more frequent even than this figure is the contrast between heaven and things heavenly, earth and the earthly in varied terminology, yet there is no suggestion that the God-created universe or the earth on which we dwell is to be feared or contemned as evil. In the early days of Christianity when pagan ideas and morals still persisted in almost all that the new converts might see or hear or read, the importance of this constant insistence on the darkness of evil and the brightness of virtue, the deceitful charms and dangerous wiles of the earth earthly as opposed to the heavenly graces, the rewards and joys of heaven, could scarcely be exaggerated.

The real earth is mentioned but rarely as engulfing the sacrilegious supporters of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, as the source of the foolish rich man's abounding fruits, as the scene of earthquakes, famine and plagues, the last resting place of Job; as receiving God's blessed rain, and trembling in its sympathy with the suffering Christ. Mountain heights are a symbol of difficulty or Christ's chosen place of prayer; a rock represents a stable and firm foundation, but sharp crags are a source of danger or destruction; stone is frequently a Scriptural symbol of Christ, but sometimes a real means of inflicting just punishment or venting rage; metals may be used or abused by men: iron for cultivation of the soil or murderous conflict; gold and silver for charity or for avarice and the adornment of vanity; manifold highways or bypaths lead to good or evil destinations.

The picturesque language of the stormy, turbulent sea adorns many a figure of stress or trial. From the Church, as from a bounteous spring, grace flows forth in many streams but its source is one. God's patience fountainlike flows abundantly to all—a model for our own tolerance springing from His Name. Like the stormy sea, gales, tempests and whirlwinds are figures of life's tribulations; the cooling wind is a gift of God; a soft breeze typifies the alluring wiles of Satan. Rain, more often a beneficent source of fertility, sometimes corrupts as disastrously as hail or drought. Fire, real or metaphorical, is the element by far the most frequently used and with the greatest variety of vocabulary.

Under organic nature the tree represents the Church, a soul deeply rooted in the faith or easily overthrown, a man barren or fruitful in good works. Fields and their fruits, grain and chaff, are frequent in picture and figure; flowery garlands and crown, green palm branches constantly suggest heroic virtue and its everlasting reward. There is little of note in references to the animal world: wild beasts in the amphitheater, cattle in the fields, the luxurious fruit of the silkworm's spinning or the gorgeous purple of the shellfish dye, the familiar picture of the sheepfold assailed by dogs and wolves. The touchingly beautiful description of the symbolic dove, however, the satirical note in the commonplace term of mousetrap for Satan's snares, the gnawing moth of envy, Elias' ministering raven and Daniel's merciful lions in contrast with man's selfish ferocity toward his fellowman, and the Bishop's stern invectives against the serpentine venom of envy and its manifold kindred vices—all lend power and vitality to his zealous exhortations.

Color occurs most frequently in imitations of Tertullian's assault on woman's vanity. Yet besides the scarlet attire, flame-colored locks, reddened cheeks and black-limned eyes, there are purple and gold to suggest wealth and power, the somber black of mourning garb, white-robed martyrs, purple crowns and white. Sounds are almost exclusively those of the human voice, moaning, wailing, or howling with rage. The sweet notes of melodious music are employed by Satan to tempt the ears and enervate the Christian soul, but this music, too, may be the human voice lifted in obscene love songs; yet religious hymns are commended as a source of pleasure and profit. Odors and taste, likewise, may be pleasant and dangerously alluring or evil and revolting—a suggestion of bitterness, vileness, or sweetness of soul.

There is here no striving for novelty in the use of nature, and still less of self-conscious restraint wherever the beauty or familiarity of earth's creatures render them desirable subjects or adornment for the zealous teacher's words.

CHAPTER III

NATURE AND THE VOCABULARY OF NATURE IN THE LETTERS OF SAINT CYPRIAN

A. Introduction

Rarely indeed do a man's own words fail to furnish the best evidence of his character and worth. The correspondence of the Bishop of Carthage is consequently of inestimable value as a supplement to the biography written by his devoted deacon, Pontius. Although unfortunately, unlike Augustine and Jerome, Cyprian left no private or personal letters to reveal the inner heart and mind of the man, the administrative genius of this zealous shepherd supplemented by the rhetorician's regard for the written or spoken word prompted the Bishop to retain carefully in separate dosiers copies of his own and his correspondents' letters on each of the various problems of his times, his own episcopate, the Church in North Africa, in Rome, and even beyond.

The courtesy and vision which saw the wisdom of keeping both people and clergy, his own and others, cognizant of developing thought and decisions on matters of ecclesiastical policy and discipline led to the widespread diffusion of copies of separate letters or entire dosiers. As a result of this foresight, not only did the thought and word of the Bishop become a familiar and respected authority, but a well-defined corpus of his collected writings took form even during his life-time, with a resultant influence difficult to overestimate. This corpus numbering eighty-one letters details his entire episcopal activity. Of these sixty-five were written by Cyprian; the others were addressed to him: letters from African bishops, from Carthaginian clergy and confessors during the Decian persecution, from the Romans, from Pope Cornelius, from Firmilianus, Bishop of Caesarea, and from the Numidian bishops and martyrs. All these fall easily into several groups concerned with matters of church discipline, the Decian persecution, the Carthaginian and Roman schisms, the question of rebaptizing heretics, and the persecution of Valerius. In the first group, 1 to 4 and 62 to 68, the former are replies to queries made by various of his colleagues; such as: could one of the clergy serve as executor or guardian of an estate? could a former actor after conversion continue to teach his art to make a living? how should a bishop deal with a refractory deacon? how and where were consecrated virgins to live? Of the later letters one concerns the ransom of the Christians among the Numidian captives, one the liturgy, one the baptism of infants; two deal with the deposition and replacement of defaulting bishops; one is addressed to a carping layman, Florentius Puppianus, who assailed the legality of Cyprian's episcopacy.

The Decian persecution which necessitated his withdrawal from the city to frustrate the efforts of the government to disrupt the organization of the Church, likewise raised many administrative questions which the Bishop answered from his retreat: the care of the poor and needy, supplies for the confessors in prison and their destitute families, the penance and pardon of the lapsed, the appointment of new members of the clergy. There were also letters to Rome, then without a Bishop after the execution of Pope Fabius, letters excommunicating Felicissimus and his faction, letters to Pope Cornelius about the Roman schism centered around Novatian, to the people and clergy who had been misled by him. These comprise letters 5 to 61—44 to 61 being concerned with the course to be followed in regard to the lapsed.

The third group from 69 to 75, connected with the so-called baptismal controversy, attempted to show why those who had received the baptism of heretics should be properly baptized when they turned to the true Church.

The fourth and last group, 76 to 81, belong to the period of the Valerian persecution. The year from September 257 to September 258, Cyprian spent in exile at Curubis preparing for the martyrdom foreseen in a vision. It was marked by an exchange of letters with the martyrs in the mines, and his own farewell to his people and clergy.

That such official correspondence as this should contain any nature allusions at all is rather more surprising than that it contain so little. Thirty of the letters at least contain only a single reference to the natural world or only the metaphorical vocabulary which has been included in large measure to corroborate the statement of Bayard that metaphor is more frequent than metonymy in the vocabulary of Saint Cyprian, but on the contrary, more rare in his style.[a]

The letters designed to be read to a group differ little from sermons in language and structure; filled with the words of the Scripture which inspired all the Bishop's thought, they expanded and elaborated these texts and thus broadened the foundation of the language of the Church so familiar to us. Epistle 63 to Caecilius on the Eucharistic sacrifice of bread and wine mingled with water suggests what Saint Cyprian might have given us of Scriptural exegesis had he lived longer or in less troublous times. The letter to Florentius Puppianus is in a tone resembling that of the *Ad Demetrianum*. Demetrianus, however, was a pagan official who did not have faith or understanding of the Church; he was thus less culpable than Florentius who was both Christian and confessor. Because the latter had suffered torture and imprisonment, he set himself up as judge of the Bishop who had retired from the city and thus escaped that danger. Cyprian's reply is ironical yet sternly logical; the righteous indignation of the ecclesiastical authority in whom the authority and unity of the Church was assailed proves the keenly sensitive nature which a calm and courteous exterior so carefully concealed.

It is in the letters to the martyrs or confessors, however, that Cyprian throws off the customary restraint and with eloquent and admiring enthusiasm exults in their glorious victory. From the early letters of the Decian persecution to the latest before his own expectantly awaited martyrdom, the tone of exultant praise and reverent honor remains the same. There is no questioning of the sincerity of his esteem, his own humble petition for their prayers, and yet withal his deep sympathy for them in the pain and suffering which lies between them and their glorious crown.

It seems significant that these breaches in literary restraint are marked by the most elaborate allusions to nature. We may fairly suppose that had the occasions been more frequent and favorable, these too would be more striking and numerous.

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[a] Cf. Bayard, *Le latin de Saint Cyprien*, p. 68.

B. COMMENTARY

INORGANIC NATURE

The Heavens and Heavenly Bodies

Sun, Moon, Stars; Day and Night

From the letters of St. Cyprian one might gather that the sun, the moon, and stars were designed by God solely to mark off time into day and night, that though both alike are to be consecrated to Him in persevering prayer and watchful meditation, the morning and evening may be specially devoted to the Holy Sacrifice. As of old the tribe of Levi received tithes from their brethren, so the clergy receive contributions from the faithful that they may not depart from the altar and sacrifices, but by day and night may serve in heavenly and spiritual things.[1] The prison where the confessors are confined is eloquently apostrophized: O blessed prison, which your presence has made bright! O blessed prison, which sends men to heaven! O darkness, brighter than the sun itself, and clearer than this light of the world where now are placed the temples of God and your members to be sanctified by divine confessions![2] The Bishop confesses to his priests that he has been reproved in a vision because they were drowsing in prayer, although the apostles ceased not to pray day and night and the Lord himself, the teacher of our discipline, and way of our example, also prayed frequently and watchfully, as we read in the Gospel: *He went into a mountain to pray and he passed the whole night in the prayer of God.*[3] For this reason the divine censure does not

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EPISTULA 1

[1] 1.466.13 (clerici) ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant
et *die ac nocte* caelestibus rebus et spiritalibus seruiant.

EPISTULA 6

[2] 1.480.19 o beatum carcerem quem inlustrauit uestra praesentia.
o beatum carcerem qui homines Dei mittit ad caelum.
o tenebras lucidiores sole ipso et luce hac mundi clariores,
ubi modo constituta sunt Dei templa
et sanctificata diuinis confessionibus membra uestra.

EPISTULA 11

[3] 5.499. 7 in euangelio legimus: *exiit in montem orare*
et fuit pernoctans in oratione Dei (Luke 6. 12).

cease to chastise us night nor day. For besides the nocturnal visions, by day also, the innocent age of children among us is filled with the Holy Spirit,[4] seeing in an ecstasy with their eyes and hearing and speaking those things whereby the Lord condescends to warn and instruct us. Other confessors he assures: And we indeed are mindful of you, day and night,[5] both when we offer prayer with many others in the sacrifices and when in solitude we pray with private petitions; and he continues his enthusiastic congratulations—a part of a lengthy passage involving changes in the year and seasons: The rising sun and waning moon were wont to illumine the world, but for you, the Same One who made the sun and moon has been a greater light in your prison, and, resplendent in your heart and minds, the brightness of Christ has irradiated the deadly gloom of this place of punishment, so horrible to others, with that eternal and gleaming white light.[6] The absent Bishop warns his people against the schismatic clergy: Hence I admonish and counsel you alike not to believe deceitful words rashly, nor to give assent easily to lying words, nor to take darkness for daylight, night for day.[7] This must all be figurative since no one with seeing eyes could fail to make such distinction. These same false counsellors interrupt our prayers which you pour forth with us day and night to God that you may appease Him with due satis-

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EPISTULA 16

[4] 4.520. 5 Castigare nos itaque diuina censura nec *noctibus* desinit nec *diebus*
praeter *nocturnas uisiones per dies quoque* impletur apud nos
spiritu sancto puerorum innocens aetas,

EPISTULA 37

[5] 1.576.14 et nos quidem uestri *diebus* ac *noctibus* memores,

[6] 2.577. 9 inluminabat mundum *sol oriens* et *luna decurrens:*
sed uobis idem qui *solem* fecit et *lunam* maius in carcere *lumen* fuit,
et in corde ac mentibus uestris *Christi claritudo splendens*
horribiles ceteris adque funestas paenalis loci *tenebras*
aeterna illa et *candida luce radiauit.*

EPISTULA 43

[7] 4.593.18 (hinc admoneo pariter et consulo) ne *pro die noctem* . . . sumatis.

faction.[8] The people of Thibaris are encouraged to steadfastness during the threatening persecution of Gallus: O what a day will that be, how great a day will come, dearest brethren, when the Lord will begin to judge his people and by the searching of His divine knowledge to ascertain the merits of each! . . .[9] This be the preparation of our armor, this our meditation by day and by night,[10] to have before our eyes and to revolve always in our thoughts and feelings the punishments of the wicked and the rewards and merits of the just. Isaias provides mention of stars in a prophecy cited to Pope Cornelius quoting a boastful rebel: *I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God. . . .*[11] And this, brother, is true madness, not to think, nor to know that lies do not long deceive; there is night only until the day breaks; but, when the day has grown bright and the sun risen, shadows and mist yield to the light, and the robberies which were going on through the night cease.[12]

The Scriptures provide one more allusion to a star: That Melchisedech bore the type of Christ, the Holy Spirit declares in the person of the Father saying to His Son: *Before the day star I begot thee. Thou art a priest for ever according to the order of*

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[8] 5.594.14 intercedunt precibus nostris
quas nobiscum *diebus* ac *noctibus* Deo funditis
ut eum iusta satisfactione placetis.

EPISTULA 58

[9] 10.665. 5 O *dies* ille qualis et quantus adueniet, fratres dilectissimi,
cum coeperit populum suum Dominus recensere
et diuinae cognitionis examine singulorum merita recognoscere,

[10] 11.665.25 haec sit armorum nostrorum praeparatio,
haec *diurna* ac *nocturna* meditatio,

EPISTULA 59

[11] 3.669.13 *in caelum ascendam, super stellas Dei ponam sedem meam* (Cf. Isa. 14. 13).

[12] 11.679. 2 adque haec est, frater, uera dementia
non cogitare nec scire quod mendacia non diu fallant,
noctem tamdiu esse quamdiu *inlucescat dies,*
clarificato autem die et sole oborto
luci tenebras et *caliginem* cedere
et quae grassabantur per *noctem* latrocinia cessare.

Melchisedech.[13] This letter to Caecilius further discusses the liturgy: Although in the morning water alone seems to be offered . . . yet not in the morning but after supper did the Lord offer the mingled chalice. . . . It was meet then for Christ to offer near evening of the day that the very hour of the sacrifice might show the setting and evening of the world, as it is written in Exodus: *And the whole multitude of the synagogue of the children of Israel shall sacrifice it in the evening,* and again in the Psalms: *Let the lifting up of my hands be an evening sacrifice.* The resurrection of the Lord, however, we celebrate in the morning.[14] Though Fortunatianus, one of the lapsed, ought to make satisfaction and to devote himself to imploring God by day and night with tears and prayers and petitions; he dares even now to claim for himself the priesthood which he betrayed, . . . and yet we read the anger of the Lord saying: . . . *Neither have they rest day nor night who have adored the beast and his image.*[15] In answer to the question

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EPISTULA 63

[13] 4.703. 5 quod autem Melchisedech typum Christi portaret declarat in psalmis
spiritus sanctus ex persona patris ad filium dicens:
ante luciferum generaui te.
tu es sacerdos in aeternum secundum ordinem Melchisedech (Ps. 109. 3,4).

[14] 16.714. 7 *mane* aqua sola offerri uidetur, . . .
at enim non *mane,* sed post cenam mixtum calicem optulit Dominus. . . .
Christum offerre oportebat circa *uesperam diei,*
ut hora ipsa sacrificii ostenderet *occasum et uesperam mundi,*
sicut in Exodo scriptum est:
et occident illum omne uulgus synagogae filiorum Israel ad uesperam (Cf. Ex. 12. 6).
et iterum in psalmis:
adleuatio manuum mearum sacrificium uespertinum (Cf. Ps. 140. 2).
nos autem resurrectionem Domini *mane* celebramus.

EPISTULA 65

[15] 1.722. 1 cum (Fortunatianus) debeat satisfacere et ad Dominum exorandum
diebus ac noctibus lacrimis et orationibus et precibus incumbere,

whether there is difference in the grace received in Baptism by sprinkling and by washing there is an unequivocal denial: Nay, verily the Holy Spirit is not given by measure, but is poured forth entire upon the believer. For if the day arises for all alike, and if the sun is diffused upon all with like and equal light, how much more does Christ, the Sun and true Day shed on His Church the light of eternal life with a like equality?[16] The priests, deprived of the power of celebrating the Holy Sacrifice in the mines, are assured that their sacrifice of a humble and contrite heart is precious and glorious: This sacrifice you offer to God: this sacrifice you celebrate without intermission by day and by night.[17]

Notwithstanding the unfailing association of the heavens, the sun and moon, with the God of the Heavens, and the Lord who is the true Sun, there is the usual effort to allude to them in an exalted tone befitting their Maker. The apostrophe to *tenebras* concludes with effective chiasmus. *Sol oriens et luna decurrens* is not uncommon but Epistle 59. 11 has a truly beautiful sentence in which *clarificato die* is the first cited appearance of that verb in a material sense, and *sole oborto* presents a compound favored by Cyprian only, in this sense. The Scriptural passage, used so effectively in *De Opere et Eleemosynis* 25 and *De Bono Patientiae* 4 to illustrate the justice and patience of God, recurs here in Epistle 69. 14 expressed in still another way. The two *si* clauses, parallel in thought but varied by the phrase *super omnes* beside the adverb *aequaliter,* are characteristic of his style.

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audet sibi adhuc sacerdotium quod prodidit uelle
uindicare, . . .
nec habebunt requiem die et nocte qui adorant bestiam et
imaginem eius (Cf. Apoc. 14. 11).

EPISTULA 69

[16] 14.763. 8 Quin immo spiritus sanctus non de mensura datur
sed super credentem totus infunditur.
nam si *dies* omnibus aequaliter nascitur
et si *sol* super omnes *pari et aequali luce* diffunditur,
quanto magis Christus *sol et dies uerus*
in ecclesia sua *lumen uitae aeternae* pari aequalitate largitur?

EPISTULA 76

[17] 3.830.21 hoc uos sacrificium Deo offertis,
hoc sacrificium sine intermissione *die ac nocte* celebratis,

Seasons

As in only one treatise, the *Ad Demetrianum,* so in only one letter are the four seasons described at any length.[b] Elsewhere only a casual reference is made to the approach of summer in a letter from the Bishop's retreat to those who were ministering to the Church during his enforced absence; here it is called a season which is troubled by continuous and severe illness,[18] wherefore care must be taken lest the lapsed or other souls die without the consolations of the Church. It is in Epistle 37, however, addressed to the confessors in prison that there is an elaborate and extended use of the familiar natural phenomena of a changing year, developed with the characteristic spiritual parallel.

The first and single confession makes one blessed. You confess as often as, invited to depart from prison, through faith and courage you prefer the prison still. Your deeds of honor are as many as there are days; as many as the revolutions of the months are the increases of your merits. He conquers once who suffers at once. But he who, remaining continuously in punishment grapples with pain and is not conquered, is daily crowned. Let magistrates then, consuls or proconsuls march on; let them glory in the insignia of their yearly dignity and in the twelve fasces. Behold a heavenly dignity is sealed in you by the brightness of a year's honor and already in the duration of its glorious victory has surpassed the revolving circle of the returning year. The rising sun and the waning moon gave light to the world; but to you the same One who made both sun and moon was a greater Light in prison, and in your heart and mind the brightness of Christ shining forth, made the darkness of the place of punishment, horrible to others and deadly, radiant with that light, eternal and gleaming white. Through the changing course of the months the winter season has passed; but you, imprisoned, balance the seasons of winter by the winter of persecution. To winter, spring has succeeded, joyous amid roses and crowned with flowers; but you had roses and flowers from the delights of paradise and heavenly garlands crowned your heads. Lo, it is summer rich in the fertility of harvests, and the threshing floor is full of corn; but you who have sowed glory, reap the fruit of glory and, placed on the threshing floor of the Lord, see the chaff burned up with inextinguishable fire; yourselves as winnowed grains of wheat and precious corn already proved and stored away, account your prison abode as a granary. Nor in autumn is spiritual grace wanting for you to perform the functions of the season. The vintage is pressed out of doors, and the grape destined for the glory of the wine cups is trodden in the presses; you, rich clusters from the vineyard of the Lord and branches of fruits already ripe, trodden under the violence of earthly persecution, you feel in the crushing prison our wine press; instead of wine you pour forth your blood and, courageous for the endurance of suffering, you gladly drain the cup of martyrdom. Thus with the servants of God, the year rolls round. Thus with spiritual merits and heavenly rewards, the change of seasons is hallowed.[19]

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[b] As Watson suggests, the Carthaginian mosaic featuring the seasons, CIL 8.12588, is of interest in connection with Cyprian's rather unusual vocabulary, and 577.14 seems reminiscent of the Aeneid 1.265,266:

tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aestas
ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis.

EPISTULA 18

[18] 1.523.17 uideo . . . *aestatem* coepisse,
quod *tempus* infirmitatibus adsiduis et grauibus infestat,

EPISTULA 37

[19] 1.576.22 beatum facit prima et una confessio.
uos totiens confitemini
quotiens rogati ut de carcere recedatis
carcerem fide et uirtute praeligitis.
tot uestrae laudes quot dies,
quot *mensium curricula* tot incrementa meritorum.
semel uincit qui statim patitur.
at qui manens semper in poenis congreditur
cum dolore nec uincitur,
cottidie coronatur.
2.577. 5 Eant nunc magistratus et consules siue proconsules,
annuae dignitatis insignibus et duodecim fascibus glorientur.
ecce dignitas caelestis in uobis honoris annui claritate signata est
et iam *reuertentis anni uolubilem circulum*
uictricis gloriae diuturnitate transgressa est.
inluminabat mundum sol oriens et luna decurrens:

It is almost superfluous to call attention to the various devices by which rhetoric is made to do homage to the martyrs. Much of the prose rime results naturally from syntax and inflection; contrast between the seasons and the martyrs involves numerous verbs in third person singular passive and second person plural active with similar endings. But anaphora, alliteration, balanced structure in alternately long and short clauses, and varied word order are consciously achieved and make Cyprian's Latin in this passage especially worthy of careful study.

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sed uobis idem qui solem fecit et lunam maius in carcere lumen fuit,
et in corde ac mentibus uestris Christi claritudo splendens
horribiles ceteris adque funestas paenalis loci tenebras
aeterna illa et candida luce radiauit.
per *uicissitudines mensium transmeauit hibernum:*
sed uos inclusi *tempora hiemis* persecutionis *hieme* pensatis.
successit hiemi uerna temperies rosis laeta et floribus coronata:
sed uobis rosae et flores de paradisi deliciis aderant
et caput uestrum serta caelestia coronabant.
aestas ecce messium fertilitate fecunda est
et area frugibus plena est:
sed uos qui gloriam seminastis frugem gloriae metitis
adque in Domini area constituti
exuri paleas inextinguibili igne perspicitis,
ipsi ut tritici grana purgata et frumenta pretiosa
iam probati et conditi
hospitium carceris horreum conputatis.
nec deest te *autumno* ad munera fungenda temporis gratia spiritalis.
uindemia foris premitur
et profutura poculis in torcularibus uua calcatur:
uos de Domini uinea pingues racemi et iam maturis fructibus botrui
pressurae saecularis infestatione calcati
torcular nostrum carcere torquente sentitis,
uini uice sanguinem funditis,
ad passionis tolerantiam
fortes martyrii poculum libenter hauritis.
sic apud seruos Dei *annus euoluitur.*
sic spiritalibus meritis et caelestibus praemiis
temporum uicissitudo celebratur.

Light and Darkness, Day and Night, Clouds and Mist
Metaphorical

The letters show the same dependence on light and shadow for emphasizing strong contrasts, irreconcilable principles or ideas: O blessed Church of ours which thus the honor of divine favor illumines, which the glorious blood of martyrs makes resplendent![20] Concluding another letter with a prayer, Cyprian begs after darkness to receive the promised light[21]—one instance where this contrast does not stand first in a series. Christ commands: *Let your light shine before men* . . . and the apostle Paul says: *Shine as lights in the world.*[22] The appointment of Celerinus as lector and future priest is announced: The marks of wounds shine bright in his glorious body.[23] It was fitting that the candle be put upon a candlestick whence it may shine upon all and the glorious countenances of the confessors be set in a higher position where, gazed upon by all the assembly, they may furnish the beholders an incentive to glory.[24] By divine instruction Numidicus also is enrolled among the priests of Carthage: Let him sit with us among the clergy, illustrious in the brightest light of his confession, exalted

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EPISTULA 10
[20] 5.494.23 o beatam ecclesiam nostram
quam sic honor diuinae dignationis *inluminat,*
quam temporibus nostris gloriosus martyrum sanguis *inlustrat.*

EPISTULA 11
[21] 8.501.20 (rogemus) post pluuias serenitatem,
post *tenebras lucem,*
post procellas et turbines placidam lenitatem,

EPISTULA 13
[22] 3.506. 9 *luceat lumen uestrum coram hominibus* (Cf. Matt. 5. 16) . . .
et Paulus Apostolus dicit: *lucete sicut luminaria in mundo* (Cf. Phil. 2. 15).

EPISTULA 39
[23] 2.582.23 *lucent* in corpore glorioso *clara uulnerum signa*
[24] 5.584.22 oportebat *lucernam* super *candelabrum* poni unde omnibus *luceat*
et gloriosos uultus in loco altiore constitui,
ubi ab omni circumstante conspecti
incitamentum gloriae uidentibus praebeant.

by the glory of his courage and faith.[25] Felicissimus is excommunicated: Since to the frauds and extortions which we have learned by clearly lighted truth, the crime of adultery is added.[26] The people are admonished not to assent easily to deceitful words; that is, to take darkness for light and night for day.[27] Let no one extinguish every light of the way of salvation to those who are wavering in the darkness of their lapse. The words of the schismatic bishop now are clear as daylight and his venom manifest.[28] Pope Cornelius is reassured: Thus both the truth and the dignity of your episcopate alike are established in the clearest light by the most manifest and strong proof.[29] This error being removed, light has been shed on the hearts of all, and the Catholic Church has been proved to be one, indestructible and indivisible.[30] While some insolently exalt themselves, blinded by the swelling of their own pride, they lose the light of truth.[31] This is always the work of the devil: to wound the servants of God by lies, to defame a glorious name so that those who are bright in the light of their own conscience may be soiled by the reports of others.[32] St. Peter

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EPISTULA 40

[25] 1.585.13 Numidicus . . . nobiscum sedeat in clero,
luce clarissima confessionis *inlustris*
et uirtutis ac fidei honore sublimis:

EPISTULA 41

[26] 2.589. 1 ad fraudes eius et rapinas quas *dilucidata ueritate* cognouimus,
adulterii etiam crimen accedit,

EPISTULA 43

[27] 4.593.18 (admoneo) ne pro *luce tenebras,* pro *die noctem* . . . sumatis

[28] 6.595.13 nemo nutantibus *lapsus sui caligine*
omne itineris salutaris lumen extinguat. . . .
lucent nunc quoque uerba eius et uenena manifesta sunt.

EPISTULA 48

[29] 4.607.20 Ita enim nunc episcopatus tui et ueritas pariter et dignitas
apertissima luce, manifestissima et firmissima conprobatione
fundata est,

EPISTULA 51

[30] 2.615.23 suo errore sublato *lux* omnium pectoribus *infusa* est

EPISTULA 54

[31] 3.623.11 dum se insolenter extollunt,
ipso suo tumore caecati *ueritatis lumen* amittunt.

EPISTULA 55

[32] 10.631. 9 hoc est opus semper diaboli . . . ut gloriosum nomen infamet,
ut qui *conscientiae suae luce clarescunt*
alienis rumoribus sordidentur.

teaches that persecutions are designed to prove us: *Rejoice that when his glory shall be revealed you may also be glad.*[33] What will be the glory when with Christ, your Lord God, you receive the joy of eternal salvation and light.[34] We beg and entreat God that . . . the hearts darkened by the shadows of their crimes may learn the light of pestilence.[35] Lest anyone in ignorance use water instead of mingled wine for the Holy Sacrifice, Epistle 63 was written that having clearly seen the light of truth he may return to the root and origin of the Lord's tradition.[36] As priests of God and Christ they ought surely follow Him who says: *I am the light of the world; he that followeth me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life.* Lest then we walk in darkness we ought to follow Christ and to observe His commandments. . . . Wherefore if we wish to walk in the light of Christ, let us not depart from His precepts. . . . His benign and liberal condescension is more and more illuminating our hearts with the light of truth.[37]

Umbra for prefiguration is a shadow that falls ahead, an equivalent of *typus* and *imago*. The fact that in the Jewish circumcision of the flesh the eighth day was observed is a mystery shown be-

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EPISTULA 58

[33] 2.658. 8 *in reuelatione facta claritatis eius gaudentes exultetis*
(Cf. 1 Peter 4. 13).

[34] 10.665.11 cum Christo Domino Deo tuo *salutis ac lucis aeternae gaudium*
capias,

EPISTULA 59

[35] 18.688.20 pectora operta *delictorum tenebris paenitentiae lumen* agnoscant

EPISTULA 63

[36] 1.701.21 *ueritatis luce perspecta*
ad radicem adque originem traditionis dominicae reuertatur.

[37] 18.716.10 *ego sum lumen saeculi. qui me secutus fuerit,*
non ambulabit in tenebris, sed habebit lumen uitae
(Cf. John 8. 12).
ne ergo in *tenebris* ambulemus,
Christum sequi et praecepta eius obseruare debemus, . . .
quare si in *lumine* Christi ambulare uolumus,
a praeceptis et monitis eius non recedamus, . . .
magis ac magis benigna eius et larga dignatio corda nostra
luce ueritatis inluminat.

forehand in a shadow and figure of Christ's rising the eighth day; that is, the day after the sabbath.[38]

Fortunatianus is described as an unhappy man, wholly blinded by the shadows of the devil or deceived by the sacrilegious persuasion of some, who still dares to claim for himself the priesthood which he has betrayed.[39] The profound gloom of gathering shadows has so blinded the hearts of some that they admit no light from the saving precepts, but once turned aside from the straight course of the true road they are rushed headlong over the precipice in the night and maze of their crimes.[40] When the Holy Spirit withdraws, the blindness which has begun remains in its own dark night. In this murk of the raging devil recall the minds of the brethren from error.[41] The Bishop chides Florentius Puppianus for assailing his sacerdotal authority: Even in false priests despoiled of their powers, regarding still the mere empty shadow of a priestly name, St. Paul said: *I knew not, brethren, that he is the high priest. For it is written: Thou shalt not speak evil of the prince of thy people,*[42]

EPISTULA 64

[38] 4.719.24 quod in Iudaica circumcisione carnali octauus dies obseruabatur,
sacramentum est in *umbra* adque imagine ante praemissum,

EPISTULA 65

[39] 1.721.19 miser uel *diaboli tenebris* in totum *excaecatus*
uel quorundam sacrilega persuasione deceptus, . . .
audet sibi adhuc sacerdotium quod prodidit uelle uindicare,

[40] 2.723.20 quamuis sic quorundam *pectora tenebrarum ingruentium profunda caligo caecauerit,*
ut de praeceptis salubribus nihil *lucis* admittant,
sed semel a recto limite ueri itineris auersi
per praeceps et abruptum *criminum suorum nocte adque errore* rapiantur

[41] 4.724.18 recedente spiritu sancto quae coepit
caecitas in sua nocte permanserit, . . .
in hac caligine diaboli saeuientis fratrum mentes ab errore reuocate

EPISTULA 66

[42] 3.729. 6 quamuis in falsis et spoliatis sacerdotibus
umbram tamen ipsam inanem sacerdotalis nominis cogitans dixerit:
nesciebam, fratres, quia pontifex est.
scriptum est enim: principem plebis tuae non maledices (Cf. Acts 23. 5).

—*umbra* here is a shadow which lingers after, not precedes the reality. The Lord satisfies us and manifests a greater light of knowledge in His Gospel.[43] Because there can be nothing common to lying and truth, to shadows and light, to death and immortality, to antichrist and Christ, we ought in all things to hold fast to the unity of the Catholic Church and not yield to the enemy in any point of faith and truth.[44] The deceitful water mentioned by Jeremias is surely that which frustrates the grace of faith by a shadowy simulation[45]—a third kind of *umbra,* mere semblance. When the apostles say there is no participation of justice and iniquity, no communion of light and darkness, how can either darkness illumine or iniquity justify?[46] But if the disciples of Christ do not wish to learn from Christ how great veneration and honor is due to the name of father, let them learn from earthly and worldly examples and let them know that Christ has set it forth not without the greatest approbation: *For the children of this world are wiser than the children of light.*[47] To this point of evil has the Church of God and the Spouse of Christ sunk that the example of heretics is to be followed, that for celebrating the heavenly sacraments

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EPISTULA 69

[43] 6.755.15 satiat adhuc in euangelio suo Dominus
et *maiorem intellegentiae lucem* manifestat

EPISTULA 71

[44] 2.773. 5 quia nihil potest esse commune mendacio et ueritati,
tenebris et luci
morti et immortalitati,
antichristo et Christo,
per omnia debemus ecclesiae catholicae unitatem tenere
nec in aliquo fidei et ueritatis hostibus cedere.

EPISTULA 73

[45] 6.783. 6 gratiam fidei *adumbrata simulatione* frustratur.

[46] 15.789. 9 cum dicant nullam participationem esse iustitiae et iniquitati.
nullam communionem *lumini et tenebris*
(Cf. 2 Cor. 6. 14),
quomodo possunt aut *tenebrae inluminare* aut iniquitas
iustificare?

[47] 19.793. 1 sciant Christum non sine maxima exprobatione posuisse:
filii saeculi huius prudentiores sunt filiis lucis
(Cf. Luke 16. 8).

light is to borrow discipline from darkness, and Christians are to do that which antichrists do.[48] With rarely bitter irony Cyprian continues his protest against the recognition of heretical baptism: If glory is thus given to God let the Church bow down and yield to heretics, light to darkness, faith to perfidy, hope to desperation, reason to error, immortality to death, charity to hatred, truth to lying, Christ to antichrist.[49] Note that in these series several opposites recur but the arrangement and syntactical relations differ enough to prevent monotony.

Having returned to divine tradition: whatever lay hid under the mist and cloud of obscure shadows is laid open to the light of truth.[50] A more exultant spirit is felt in the letter to the martyrs: Daily you await with joy the saving day of your departure, and even now, about to depart from this world, you hasten to the rewards and divine abodes of the martyrs; after these shadows on earth, you shall see a very bright light and you shall receive greater glory for all your sufferings and afflictions as the apostle testifies, saying: *For I reckon that the sufferings of this time are not worthy to be compared with the glory to come, that shall be revealed in us.* Beseech and pray that divine grace may consummate the confession

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EPISTULA 74

[48] 4.802.10 ad hoc enim malorum deuoluta est ecclesia Dei et sponsa Christi,
ut haereticorum exempla sectetur,
ut ad celebranda sacramenta caelestia
disciplinam *lux de tenebris mutuetur*
et id faciant christiani quod antichristi faciunt.

[49] 8.806. 5 succumbat et cedat ecclesia haereticis,
lux tenebris,
fides perfidiae,
spes desperationi,
ratio errori,
immortalitas morti,
caritas odio,
ueritas mendacio,
Christus antichristo.

[50] 10.808. 3 quidquid sub *caligine ac nube tenebrarum obscurum latebat*
in *lucem ueritatis* aperitur:

of all of us, that God may free us also with you, whole and glorious from these shadows and snares of the world.[51]

To this we should add the concept of brightness or brilliance expressed by the adjectives: *inlustris* as brilliant or glorious qualifies letters, children as confessors, a journey into exile, the confessor himself, his testimony, the youth Aurelius, and the suffering which merits a crown; *lucidus,* in a reading where an isolated *elucidus* has been rejected by Bayard, modifies authority; with the verb *luceo* evil words are brought to light, good example like a candle lights up all faces; with *inlustro,* divine favor shines on the confessors, a martyr's blood and happiness shed a glorious light on our times and on the Church. *Diuina dignatio* occurs repeatedly with the adjective *inlustris* and the denominative verb. The honor of divine favor and sublimity illumine with the verb *inlumino.* For truth clearly brought to light, Bayard has adopted the reading *dilucidata veritate* instead of Hartel's adjective *dilucida* in agreement with Watson.[c]

Lux and *lumen* with *clarus* and *claritas,* assisted by these adjectives and verbs, light up the glory of virtue and truth. The nouns: *caligo, nox, nubes, tenebrae,* and *umbra;* the adjectives: *caecus* and *obscurus;* and the verbs: *adumbro, caeco* and *excaeco, caligo* and *operior* all are variously combined to suggest the profound darkness and gloom of ignorance and evil.

EPISTULA 76

[51] 7.833. 6 expectatis cotidie laeti profectionis uestrae *salutarem diem*
et iam iamque de saeculo recessuri
ad martyrum munera et domicilia diuina properatis,
post has *mundi tenebras* uisuri *candidissimam lucem*
et accepturi maiorem passionibus omnibus et conflictationibus
claritatem
apostolo contestante et dicente:
non sunt condignae passiones huius temporis
ad superuenturam claritatem
quae reuelabitur in nobis
(Cf. Rom. 8. 18) . . .
petite inpensius et rogate . . .
ut de *istis tenebris et laqueis mundi*
nos quoque uobiscum integros et gloriosos Deus liberet,

[c] Cf. Watson, p. 308.

Heaven and Heavenly, Earth and Earthly

"Let us lift up our eyes to heaven lest earth deceive with its charms and allurements" is the keynote to Cyprian's attitude toward the world in the letters as in the treatises, if only one rightly understands his concept of earth in its opposition to heaven. *Caelestis* applies to matters worthy of our concern, glory, precepts, contest and conflict that lead to its reward, vigor, crown, militia serving God, dignity, garlands, rewards, preaching, praise, good works, our Father, His ways, arms, almsdeeds, days, favor, voice, grace, strength, bread, sacraments—about fifty occurrences; *caelum* or *caeli* used about half as frequently, is the kingdom whither Christ ascended, whither prison sends the confessors, to which we lift our eyes, whose keys Peter holds to loose or bind, open to the martyrs, abode of God's friends, creation of God whence angels and manna come, to which the shackled feet will swiftly go. In contrast *saecularis* refers to troubles, snares, deeds, affairs, trials and business, annoyance, conflict, delights, camp, family, power, course, bath, punishment, drink used with the one occurrence of *terrestris* possibly referring to food in a defective text; *terrenus,* unlike the usage in the treatises where it appears almost as often as *saecularis* occurs only twice with deeds and examples. *Saeculum* and *mundus* frequently seem synonymous although unlike the treatises where they are nearly balanced, in the letters *mundus* occurs only about half as often: the former is the place or state from which we depart, to be despised, trampled under foot, renounced, hated, where men are sated with earthly food, where holy feet are chained, the place destined to fall, whose children are wise in their generation; *mundus* occurs in reference to the consummation of the world, its light, its beginning, faith in the world, our shining as lights in the world, letters sent, agreements, insults, the Church, the bishops, destruction of the world, the Baptism of the world, its shadows. Obviously sometimes these passages refer to the real universe quite apart from the spirit of opposition to God; *terra,* often Scriptural, is the earth which may deceive us, where Peter's words bind or loose, where we travel, the place made by God, the ground on which sparrows fall, where the universal Church extends; *totus orbis* without terra is the place of travel where Novatian was rejected. Almost an equal number of references were noted to each—heaven and earth alike—a fact of no consequence except to indicate the absorbing nature of the conflict for souls waged by the brute force of earth, made strong and alluring by the cunning designs of the evil one, against the divine power of love and grace. Since danger unsuspected is most perilous and evil in disguise most potent, the Bishop does not weary in his words of warning—a warning obviously not directed at the beauties and life-sustaining gifts of God's creation.[52]

Mountains and Desert Places

The Scriptures furnish most of the few references to mountains: The Lord himself, the teacher of our discipline, and way of our example, also prayed frequently and watchfully as we read in the Gospel: *He went into a mountain to pray and he passed the whole night in the prayer of God.*[53] Regarding the lapsed, Cyprian asks Cornelius: Then if leaving all things one should flee and while lurking in the hiding places and solitudes should by chance fall among robbers will it not be imputed to us that so good a soldier has died without peace and communion?[54] Similarly he comforts the people of Thibaris: If a robber overpowers a man fleeing in the solitude and in the mountains, a wild beast attack him, hunger or thirst or cold distress him, or if storm and winds overwhelm him as he hastens in precipitous voyage over the seas, Christ everywhere beholds His soldier, fighting.[55] The prophet voices the Lord's reproof to the proud: *Thou saidst in thy heart: . . . I will sit in the mountain of the covenant above the high mountains in the north, . . . But yet thou shalt descend to hell, into the depths of the earth.*[56] In Numbers the Lord spoke to Moses: *Take Aaron thy brother and his son Eleazar and place them upon the mountain before all the synagogue.*[57] Mountains then are a place of prayer, of retreat from persecution, the abode of the proud, and the powerful in the hour of death. Jubaianus is asked: But if the baptism of public confession and of blood can not avail a heretic for salvation, because outside the Church there is no salvation, how much more will it avail him nothing if in hiding-places and robbers' caves stained by the contagion of adulterous water, he not only has not put off his old sins but rather has even added new and greater ones?[58]

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[52] Because of the great number of occurrences of these terms and the rather specialized interest attached to their use all the Latin excerpts from the three chapters which belong under this heading have been placed in an appendix.

EPISTULA 11

[53] 5.499. 6 Dominus quoque ipse disciplinae magister et exempli nostri uia
frequenter et uigilanter orauit, sicut in euangelio legimus:
exiit in montem orare et fuit pernoctans in oratione
Dei (Cf. Luke 6. 12).

EPISTULA 57

[54] 4.654. 1 tunc deinde si relictis omnibus rebus suis fugerit
et in *latebris* adque in *solitudine* constitutus
in latrones forte incurrerit . . .
nonne nobis inputabitur quod tam bonus miles, . . .
sine pace et sine communicatione decedit?

In Epistle 41. 1 and 2 Bayard reads *in monte* twice where Hartel has *in morte* 588. 6 and 17. Felicissimus, the disturber of the peace and creator of factions, has threatened all who chose to obey Cyprian, their bishop in exile, to refuse them communion with him

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EPISTULA 58

[55] 4.659.23 et si fugientem in *solitudine* ac *montibus* latro oppresserit,
fera inuaserit,
famis aut sitis aut frigus adflixerit,
uel per maria praecipiti nauigatione properantem
tempestas ac procella submerserit,
spectat militem suum Christus ubicumque pugnantem

EPISTULA 59

[56] 3.669.12 *tu autem dixisti in animo tuos: . . . sedebo in monte alto*
super montes altos in aquilonem, . . .
tu uero ad inferos descendes in fundamenta terrae
(Cf. Isa. 14. 13,15):

EPISTULA 67

[57] 4.738. 6 *prehende Aaron fratrem tuum et Eleazar filium eius,*
et inpones eos in montem coram omni synagoga
(Cf. Num. 20. 25),

EPISTULA 73

[58] 21.795. 4 quanto magis ei nihil proderit,
si in *latebra* et in *latronum spelunca* adulterae aquae contagio tinctus. . . .
(peccata) noua et maiora cumulauerit?

on the mountain—Bayard suggests that this may probably refer to the hill known as the Byrsa.

Rocks and Stones

To a strong Christian the rock naturally suggests Peter and the Church founded upon him. So Cyprian quotes: *Thou art Peter; and upon this rock I will build my church.*[59] To the martyrs in prison he exults: Truly witnesses of the Gospel and truly martyrs of Christ, resting upon His roots, founded with strong foundation upon the rock, you have joined discipline with virtue; you have roused others to the fear of God; you have made martyrs by your example.[60] To the clergy he announces the enrollment of Numidicus among their number: By his exhortation he sent before him a glorious band of martyrs slain by stones and flames; . . . he himself, half burned and buried with stones and left for dead, . . . remained alive unwillingly.[61] His people he reminds that there is one God and one Christ and one Church and one Chair founded upon Peter by the voice of the Lord.[62] And again: Once founded upon a rock with firm stability, grave men are not moved, I do not

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EPISTULA 33

[59] 1.566. 4 *tu es Petrus, et super istam petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam* (Cf. Matt. 16. 18),

EPISTULA 37

[60] 4.579. 8 uere euangelii testes et uere martyres Christi radicibus eius innixi,
super *petram robusta mole fundati,* Cf. 188. 10; 210. 16.
disciplinam cum uirtute iunxistis,
ad timorem Dei ceteros prouocastis,
martyria uestra exempla fecistis.

EPISTULA 40

[61] 1.585.13 Numidicus presbyter adscribatur . . . qui hortatu suo
gloriosum martyrum numerum *lapidibus* et flammis necatum ante se misit . . .
ipse semiustilatus et *lapidibus* obrutus et pro mortuo derelictus, . . .
remansit inuitus.

EPISTULA 43

[62] 5.594. 5 Deus unus est et Christus unus et una ecclesia et cathedra una super *Petrum* Domini uoce fundata.

say by a light breeze, but not even by wind or storm.[63] To Cornelius he writes: There ought to abide in us, dearest brother, the immovable and steadfast strength of faith, and virtue ought to stand against all the assaults and attacks of barking waves as with the strength and mass of a projecting rock. . . . The revilings with which they daily wound themselves and their own life, we do not fear. Clubs and stones and swords which they brandish with parricidal words, we do not dread.[64] Explaining the prefiguration of Christ by Melchisedech who blessed Abraham, he reasons that it was Abraham's faith that made him worthy and consequently whoever believes and lives by faith is blessed and justified in Abraham: whence we find in the Gospel that from stones are raised up children of Abraham; that is, from the gentiles they are gathered through faith.[65] Another prefiguration of Christ is found in the rock which is to be cleft that God's people may drink. This is fulfilled in the Gospel when Christ who is the rock is cleft by the stroke of the lance in His passion.[66] This (charity) should be among us, dearest brother, that we should take unto ourselves with

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EPISTULA 55
[63] 3.625. 3 semel super *petram solida stabilitate fundatos*
non dico aura leui sed nec uento aut turbine commoueri,

EPISTULA 59
[64] 2.667.22 manere apud nos debet . . . fidei robur inmobile et stabilis
adque inconcussa uirtus contra omnes incursus
adque inpetus oblatrantium fluctuum
uelut *petrae obiacentis fortitudine et mole* debet obsistere.
. . .
conuicia eorum quibus se et uitam suam cotidie lacerant
non timemus,
fustes et *lapides* et gladios quos uerbis parricidalibus iactitant
non perhorrescimus.

EPISTULA 63
[65] 4.704. 1 unde in euangelio inuenimus
de *lapidibus* excitari id est ex gentibus colligi filios Abrahae.
[66] 8.706.17 *findetur petra et fluet aqua et bibet plebs mea*
(Cf. Isa. 48. 21).
quod in euangelio adinpletur,
quando Christus qui est petra finditur ictu lanceae in
passione:

ready and gentle kindness our brothers who, having avoided the rocks of Marcian, seek the safe harbors of the Church.[67]

Ways and Journeys

I will make a way in the desert; thus Isaias voices one of the many promises of the Lord to prepare a path for His chosen people. In due time came Christ who says: *I am the way.* Small wonder then that this figure has taken so strong a hold on the imagination and speech of men. There seems little conscious distinction between moving along a natural path, made first by God or traced by instinct-guided wild life; travelling the broad paved highways of civilized peoples; and the spiritual journey from birth through death to life again: either walking confidently in the footsteps of Christ, footsteps deepened by His countless faithful followers, or haplessly straying from the straight course in the murk and gloom of human blindness. So the Bishop writes:

By all the ways of usefulness and salvation—that is, by all useful and salutary methods—the discipline of the Church regarding virgins is preserved.[68] Strait and narrow is the way through which we go to life, but supreme and great is the reward when we have reached its glory.[69] I congratulate you and at the same time urge that . . . having entered in the way of the Lord's favor, you advance with spiritual strength to receive the crown having the Lord as your protector and guide.[70] Those only who have followed in His way arrive at His kingdom.[71] In all things let us follow that

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EPISTULA 68

[67] 3.746.17 necesse est apud nos esse, frater carissime,
ut fratres nostros qui uitatis Marciani *scopulis*
petunt ecclesiae portus salutares suscipiamus

EPISTULA 4

[68] 1.473. 8 per omnes *utilitatis et salutis uias* ecclesiastica disciplina
seruetur,

[69] 5.477.12 arta et angusta est *uia* per quam *ingredimur* ad uitam, sed
summus et magnus est fructus cum *peruenimus* ad gloriam.

EPISTULA 6

[70] 1.480.14 gratulor pariter et exhortor ut . . . ingressi *uiam dominicae*
dignationis
ad accipiendam coronam spiritali uirtute *pergatis,*
habentes Dominum protectorem et *ducem*

[71] 2.482. 3 docens ad suum regnum non nisi eos
qui se per *suam uiam secuti* sint *peruenire*

glorious old man, the priest Rogatianus, preparing the way for you to the glory of our time by his religious courage and divine favor.[72] Having conquered and trampled the earth under foot, they have come to the Lord by a glorious journey.[73] The persecution with its sad defections has come because: we do not keep the way of the Lord.[74] The Lord Himself also, master of discipline and way of our example, frequently and watchfully prayed. . . . Let us resolve to walk in His ways and to stand in awe of His precepts.[75] Solomon, Saul, and many others so long as they did not walk in the ways of the Lord could not keep the grace once given them; when they departed from the Lord's discipline, grace also departed.[76] We must persevere on the strait and narrow path of praise and honor.[77] If the servant is not greater than his lord, those who follow the Lord, humble and quiet and silent, should follow in His footsteps.[78] According to the divine appointment they may instruct the sheep in the way of obtaining salvation.[79]

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[72] 4.484. 6 *sequamini* in omnibus Rogatianum presbyterum gloriosum senem
uiam uobis ad gloriam temporis nostri
religiosa uirtute et diuina dignatione facientem,

EPISTULA 10

[73] 5.494.16 uicto et calcato saeculo ad Dominum *glorioso itinere uenerunt.*

EPISTULA 11

[74] 1.495.19 *uiam Domini* non tenemus

[75] 5.499. 6 Dominus quoque ipse disciplinae magister et *exempli nostri uia*
frequenter et uigilanter orauit. . . .
nos *ambulare* in *uiis eius* et praecepta eius metuere spondeamus.

EPISTULA 13

[76] 2.505.19 Salomon denique et Saul et ceteri multi
quamdiu in *uiis Domini* non *ambulauerunt,*
datam sibi gratiam tenere non potuerunt:
recedente ab his disciplina dominica *recessit* et gratia.

[77] 3.505.23 Perseuerandum nobis est in *arto* et in *angusto itinere laudis et gloriae*

[78] 4.507.15 quod si non est maior domino suo seruus (Cf. John 15. 20),
qui Dominum *secuntur*
humiles et quieti et taciturni *uestigia eius* imitentur,

EPISTULA 17

[79] 2.522.15 oues . . . diuino magisterio ad *uiam deprecandae salutis* instruerent.

The lapsed are warned against those who would easily restore them to communion with the Church since it is written: *They that call thee blessed, cause thee to err, and destroy the way of thy feet.*[80] Blessed in full are they who from among you, following these footsteps of glory, have already departed from the world; the journey of courage and faith completed, they have come to the embrace and kiss of the Lord while the Lord Himself rejoices.[81] While by the invincible firmness of his conflict Celerinus conquered the adversary he made a way of conquest for others.[82] God willed some of the confessors to survive that the brotherhood, having followed, may companion with these same ones (in glory).[83] Let no one make you stray from the ways of the Lord, brethren. Let no one extinguish all light of the road of salvation for those who are stumbling in the midst of their fall.[84] How much greater the joy on earth and likewise in heaven over the confessors who by the example of their faith and trial make for others a way of return.[85] You have made an example for others by your journey of love

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EPISTULA 34
[80] 2.569.14 *qui uos beatos esse dicunt, in errorem uos mittunt*
et semitam pedum uestrorum turbant
(Cf. Isa. 3. 12).

EPISTULA 37
[81] 3.578. 6 Beati satis qui ex uobis
per haec *gloriarum uestigia commeantes*
iam de saeculo *recesserunt*
confectoque *itinere uirtutis ac fidei*
ad conplexum et osculum Domini
Domino ipso gaudente *uenerunt.*

EPISTULA 39
[82] 2.582.11 dum inexpugnabili firmitate certaminis sui aduersarium uincit,
uincendi ceteris *uiam* fecit,
[83] 5.584.20 hos eosdem fraternitas *sectata comitetur.*

EPISTULA 43
[84] 5.594.21 nemo uos, fratres, errare a *Domini uiis* faciat.
6.595.13 nemo nutantibus lapsus sui caligine
omne *itineris salutaris* lumen extinguat.

EPISTULA 51
[85] 2.615.18 quanto maius est gaudium et in terris pariter et in caelo
super confessoribus . . . *redeundi uiam* ceteris
exempli sui fide et probatione facientibus?

and peace.[86] The possibility of recovering the soul of the lapsed is lost: if harshly and cruelly separated from the Church he turns to gentile ways and earthly works, or rejected by the Church he goes over to heretics and schismatics.[87] It is to close up and cut off the journey of grief and way of penitence.[88] The noisy wranglings of the corrupt ought not move us so that we depart from the right way and certain rule.[89] *You have abandoned the ways of the Lord and the Lord will abandon you;* for not because a few bold and wicked men have forsaken the heavenly and saving ways of the Lord . . . ought we also be heedless of the divine tradition.[90] Turned away from the straight confines of the true road, the lapsed are hurried headlong over the precipice in the night and maze of their sins.[91] If, on the highway some inn is beset and held by robbers so that whoever enters is seized by the assault of those lying in ambush there, do not travellers having learned its reputation, seek other and safer inns on their journey where there are trustworthy hospices and secure lodgings for the wayfarers?[92]

EPISTULA 54

[86] 1.621.18 exemplum ceteris *dilectionis et pacis* uestro *itinere* fecistis,

EPISTULA 55

[87] 17.636. 1 si ab ecclesia dure et crudeliter segregatus
ad gentiles se *uias* et saecularia opera *conuertat*
uel ad haereticos et schismaticos reiectus ab ecclesia *transeat,*

[88] 29.647. 4 Praecludere est adque abscidere *iter doloris* ac *paenitendi uiam,*

EPISTULA 59

[89] 8.675.15 nec mouere nos debent conuicia perditorum
quo minus a *uia recta* et a certa regula non *recedamus,*

[90] 17.687. 8 *dereliquistis uias Domini, et Dominus derelinquet uos* (Cf. 2 Par. 24. 20).
neque enim quia pauci temerarii et improbi
caelestes et salutares uias Domini derelinquunt,...
ideo et nos diuinae traditionis inmemores esse debemus

EPISTULA 65

[91] 2.723.22 semel a *recto limite ueri itineris* auersi
per praeceps et abruptum criminum suorum nocte adque errore rapiantur.

EPISTULA 68

[92] 3.746.12 aut si in *uia* stabulum aliquod obsideri et teneri a latronibus coeperit,
ut quisquis ingressus fuerit insidiantium illic infestatione capiatur,

The Holy Spirit forewarned in the Psalms lest anyone, leaving the track and straying from the way of truth, be anointed by heretics and adversaries of Christ.[93] When the water supply fails we examine whether the water has dried up at the source or whether . . . flowing plenteously from there it has stopped in the midst of the course.[94]

One of the eloquent passages addressed to the martyrs is an apostrophe addressed to their feet in chains: O feet happily bound, which are to be freed not by a smith but by the Lord! O feet happily bound, which are directed to paradise on the journey of salvation! O feet tied for the present in this world, that they may be forever free with God! O feet impeded for a time by fetters and stocks, but quickly to run on the glorious road to Christ![95] What strength of a victorious conscience is yours, beloved brethren, . . . to know that Christ is present with you, rejoicing in the endurance of His servants who are walking in His footsteps and His ways to the everlasting kingdoms![96]

Cyprian's language is of further interest. While the Scripture passages use only *uia* and *semita,* he varies *uia* with *limes, error,*

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nonne *commeantes* hac opinione comperta
stabula alia in *itinere* adpetunt tutiora,
ubi sint fida hospitia et receptacula *commeantibus* tuta?

EPISTULA 70

[93] 2.768.21 quod ante in psalmis praemonuit spiritus sanctus,
ne quis *exorbitans et a uia ueritatis exerrans*
apud haereticos et Christi aduersarios ungeretur.

EPISTULA 74

[94] 10.808.7 unda . . . inde et plena *procurrens* in *medio itinere* destiterit,

EPISTULA 76

[95] 2.829.18 o pedes feliciter uincti,
qui non a fabro sed a Domino resoluuntur.
o pedes feliciter uincti,
qui *itinere salutari* ad paradisum diriguntur.
o pedes in saeculo ad praesens ligati, ut sint semper apud Deum liberi.
o pedes conpedibus et trauersariis interim cunctabundi
sed celeriter ad Christum *glorioso itinere cursuri.*

[96] 7.833. 3 scire Christum secum esse praesentem
gaudentem tolerantia seruorum suorum
per *uestigia* et *uias* suas ad regna aeterna *gradientium?*

uestigium and *iter,* showing an unusually strong liking for the latter—and using it almost as frequently as *uia* exclusive of Scriptural citations. There are instances where *iter* and *uia* seem synonymous, yet the translation shows that more often there is a feeling that *uia* is the pathway and *iter* our progress along its course, as *error* is our deviation from it. In most cases a verb of motion completes the figure: *adpeto, ambulo, auerto* and *conuerto, comitor, commeo, curro, discurro* and *procurro, duco, dirigo, erro, exerro* and *oberro, excedo* and *recedo, exorbito, gradior* and *ingredior, pergo, redeo* and *transeo, relinquo* and *derelinquo, sequor, uenio* and *peruenio.*

The deep conviction that Christian life was a sort of pathway along which we make a sometimes hazardous, sometimes weary journey, to end in passing out of this world into an infinitely glorious and happy eternity has left traces in the language of Cyprian and his Church, relevant to this figure. Only a suggestion of this may be included here. The Bishop charges his priests: The bodies of those who, though not martyred yet in prison, depart by the passage of a glorious death are to be affectionately cared for.[97] Note carefully their days on which they depart so that we can celebrate their commemorations among the memories of the martyrs . . . although Tertullus informs me of the days on which our blessed brethren in prison pass over to immortality by the glorious gateway of death.[98]

Of a quite different departure he writes Pope Cornelius regarding a certain Evaristus: an outcast from his chair and people, an exile from the Church of Christ, he wanders far through other provinces.[99] Still another kind of journeying is described to the Pope concerning the disruptive efforts of Novatian's representa-

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EPISTULA 12

[97] 1.502.16 in carcere tamen *glorioso exitu mortis excedunt,*

[98] 2.503.14 dies eorum quibus *excedunt* adnotate,
ut conmemorationes eorum inter memorias martyrum celebrare possimus: . . .
significet mihi dies quibus in carcere beati fratres nostri
ad inmortalitatem *gloriosae mortis exitu transeunt,*

EPISTULA 52

[99] 1.616.16 cathedrae et plebis *extorrem* et de ecclesia Christi *exulem*
per alias longe prouincias *oberrare*

tives: Here too they are striving to rend the members of Christ into schismatic factions, and to cleave and mangle His body of the Catholic Church. To this end rushing about from door to door through the homes of many, or from town to town through certain districts they seek associates for themselves.[100] In this, his first letter to the newly elected Pope, conscious that he really has the difficult situation well in hand, Cyprian seems to have enjoyed an opportunity to use these balanced phrases introduced by his favored adverbs in *-tim, ostiatim . . . uel oppidatim* providing rime and assonance at once.

As a new persecution threatens under Gallus, he reminds the people of Thibaris: *He that saith he abideth in Christ, ought himself also to walk, even as he walked.*[101] And finally, we should accomplish our departure of death with the reward of immortality and not fear to be slain.[102]

Mines, Metals, and Wood

The confinement of the confessors in the mines naturally suggests St. Paul's text which probably prompted much of this thought but the development is the Bishop's own. Wisdom provided the first text. The Sacred Scripture speaks of the torments which consecrate the martyrs of God and sanctify them with the very proof of suffering: *As gold in the furnace he hath proved them,*[103] *and as a victim of a holocaust he hath received them.* Some of the con-

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EPISTULA 44

[100] 3.598.19 hic quoque in schismatis partes Christi membra distrahere
et catholicae ecclesiae corpus suum scindere ac laniare nituntur,
ut *ostiatim* per multorum domos uel *oppidatim*
per quasdam ciuitates *discurrentes* . . . sibi quaerant comites.

EPISTULA 58

[101] 1.657. 6 *qui dicit se in Christo manere,*
debet quomodo ille ambulauit et ipse ambulare
(Cf. 1 John 2. 6).

[102] 3.659.10 fungamur *exitum mortis* cum praemio inmortalitatis nec uereamur occidi,

EPISTULA 6

[103] 2.481.17 *tamquam aurum in fornace probauit illos* (Wisd. 3. 6).

fessors when released from prison had been deceived regarding the lawful election of Pope Cornelius. Later they wrote to Cyprian about their reconciliation with the Pope. The passage from St. Paul is quoted first in his joyous reply: The Apostle says in his Epistle: *But in a great house there are not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and of earth: and some indeed unto honour, but some unto dishonour.* Let us strive, dearest brethren, and let us labor as much as we can that we may be vessels of gold or of silver. But to the Lord alone is it given to break earthen vessels, to whom also is given the rod of iron.[104] The following letter to Antonianus concerning Novatian's heretical denial of any pardon to the lapsed introduces the same text: Moreover what a swelling of arrogance is it, what forgetfulness of humility and mildness, what a vaunting of his own arrogance, that anyone dare to do or think he can do what the Lord did not grant even to the apostles . . . and despite what the Apostle says, he seems to select the vessels of gold and silver, but to despise, reject, condemn those of wood and of earth although not until the day of the Lord are the wooden vessels to be burned in the fire of divine love and the earthen to be broken with the iron rod by Him to Whom it is given[105]—note the interesting differences in these two Latin texts.

EPISTULA 54
[104] 3.622.20 apostolus in epistula sua dicit:
in domo autem magna non solum uasa sunt aurea et argentea,
sed et lignea et fictilia,
et quaedam quidem honorata,
quaedam inhonorata (Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 20).
nos operam demus et quantum possumus laboremus
ut *uas aurem uel argenteum* simus.
ceterum *fictilia uasa* confringere Domino soli concessum est
cui et *uirga ferrea data est* (Cf. Ps. 2. 9).

EPISTULA 55
[105] 25.643.14 Tunc deinde quantus adrogantiae tumor est,
quanta humilitatis et lenitatis obliuio.
adrogantiae suae quanta iactatio,
ut quis aut audeat aut facere posse se credat . . .
cumque apostolus dicat: *in domo autem magna non solum uasa*
aurea sunt et argentea, sed et lignea et fictilia
(Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 20),

Those who corrupt or adulterate the divine precepts regarding the Holy Sacrifice committing a sort of spiritual adultery recall the condemnation of Jeremias: *She hath played the harlot with stock and with stone, and after all this hath not returned to me.*[106]

It is in Epistle 76 addressed to the confessors in the mines, however, that Cyprian's own thought is elaborated: Some still linger in the closure of prison walls or in the mines and in chains displaying by the very delay of their punishment greater examples for strengthening and arming the brethren.[107] Though you have first been grievously beaten with clubs, a Christian body trembles not at clubs whose whole hope is in wood. The servant of Christ recognizes the symbol of his salvation; redeemed by wood unto life eternal, by wood is he borne on to a crown. What indeed is strange in that you, vessels of gold and of silver, are given to the mine, that is the home of gold and silver, except that now the nature of mines has been changed, and places, which before were wont to give gold and silver, have begun to receive it. They have put shackles on your feet, and the blessed members and temples of God they have bound with infamous chains, as if the spirit may be bound with the body, or your gold defiled by the contact of iron.[108] A manifold portion of the people have confessed with you,

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aurea et argentea uasa uideatur eligere,
lignea uero *et fictilia* contemnere
abicere
damnare,
quando non nisi die Domini
uasa lignea diuini ardoris incendio concrementur
et *fictilia* ab eo cui data est *ferrea uirga* frangantur.

EPISTULA 63

[106] 18.716. 4 item aput eundem alio loco, *et moechata est,* inquit (Hieremias),
lignum et lapidem, et in his omnibus non est reuersa ad me
(Cf. Jer. 3. 9,10).

EPISTULA 76

[107] 1.828. 8 pars adhuc in carcerum claustris siue in *metallis* et uinculis demoretur,
exhibens per ipsas suppliciorum moras
corroborandis fratribus et armandis maiora documenta,

[108] 2.829. 5 neque enim ad *fustes* christianum corpus expauit,
cuius est spes omnis in ligno.
sacramentum salutis suae Christi seruus agnouit,

bound to you by a chain of strongest affection and separated from their ministers neither by prison nor by mines.[109] Now, beloved brethren, what strength of a victorious conscience, what sublimity of soul, what exultation of feeling, what triumph of heart must be yours that each one of you stands near the promised reward of God, that you are secure from the day of judgment, that you walk in the mine, captive indeed in body, but reigning in heart.[110]

That gold and silver are precious; wood and clay of little value; iron, useful for implements or confining chains is all commonplace enough. Beauty and originality are confined to the language, to the symbolism of the wood as the Cross of salvation, hence not to be dreaded even when as a cudgel it causes pain; and to the paradox of Christians bringing the gold and silver of themselves to the mines which are wont rather to yield it.

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redemptus ligno ad uitam aeternam *ligno prouectus* est ad coronam.
quid uero mirum si *uasa aurea et argentea* in *metallum*
id est *auri et argenti domicilium* dati estis,
nisi quod nunc *metallorum* natura conuersa est,
loca quae *aurum et argentum* dare ante consueuerant accipere coeperunt.
inposuerunt quoque conpedes pedibus uestris
et membra felicia ac Dei templa infamibus uinculis ligauerunt,
quasi cum corpore ligetur et spiritus
aut *aurum* uestrum *ferri* contagione maculetur.

[109] 6.832.16 multiplex plebis portio confessa est uobiscum . . .
conexa uobis uinculo fortissimae caritatis
et a praepositis suis nec carcere nec *metallis* separata.

[110] 7.832.24 Qui nunc uobis, dilectissimi fratres, conscientiae uictricis uigor,
quae sublimitas animi,
quae in sensu exultantia,
qui triumphus in pectore,
unumquemque uestrum stare ad promissum Dei praemium,
de iudicii die esse securum,
ambulare in *metallo*
captiuo quidem corpore
sed corde regnante,

The Sea and Navigation

Even including the part implied in man's voyaging and shipwreck, the sea plays an insignificant role in Cyprian's writings. Virgins must be vigilantly guarded from spiritual danger as: a ship must be cautiously delivered from perilous places lest it be shattered amid crags and rocks.[111] The lapsed should await their reinstatement in patience: No one should entrust his ship again to the deep when shaken and battered by the waves, before he has carefully repaired it.[112] To his people he writes: It has seemed best to us, all the bishops whether stationed in our province or across the sea, that no innovation be adopted regarding the lapsed until we all assemble.[113] Pope Cornelius is assured: According to our counsel weighed by sound reason the minds of the brethren seething in this flood have sincerely and firmly approved your priesthood.[114] Evaristus, banished from his see and his people, an exile from the Church of Christ, is roving through other distant provinces and having himself made shipwreck of truth and faith is contriving like shipwreck for those like himself.[115] Novatus, a whirl-

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EPISTULA 4

[111] 2.474. 4 liberanda est uigilanter de periculosis locis nauis,
ne inter *scopulos et saxa* frangatur.

EPISTULA 17

[112] 3.522.22 nemo nauem suam quassatam et perforatam *fluctibus*
priusquam diligenter eam refecerit in *altum* denuo committat.

EPISTULA 43

[113] 3.592.21 (placuerit nobis) item uniuersis episcopis
uel in nostra prouincia uel trans *mare* constitutis
ut nihil innouetur circa lapsorum causam nisi omnes in unum conuenerimus.

EPISTULA 45

[114] 3.602.15 et secundum consilium nostrum salubri ratione libratum
in hoc *fluctu aestuantium fratrum* mentes
sincere ac firmiter tuum sacerdotium probauerunt.

EPISTULA 52

[115] 1.616.16 (Euaristum) cathedrae et plebis extorrem et de ecclesia Christi exulem
per alias longe prouincias oberrare
et ipsum ueritatis ac fidei *naufragium* factum
circa quosdam sui similes paria *naufragia* concitare,

wind and tempest to make shipwreck of faith . . . sailing with his own storm to overthrow the Church at Rome also attempted similar and like evils there.[116] The anxious solicitude of a mind tossing to and fro in divine fear is not to be reprehended.[117] If the storm and gale overwhelm one of the Christians (dispersed in time of persecution) hastening in precipitous voyage over the seas, Christ everywhere beholds His own soldier.[118] Courage, stable and unshaken, as with the strength of an opposing rock, against all the assaults and violence of barking waves, ought to abide in us.[119] He who as an adversary of Christ and foe of His Church pursues with his hostility a ruler of the Church to this end that its pilot being removed, he may proceed more savagely and more violently for the shipwreck of the Church is assailing the Bishop.[120] We congratulate you, Pope Lucius, that the shepherd is restored for feeding the flock, the pilot for steering the ship.[121] In the twofold illustration of the necessity of making provision for the Christians in the see of Arles whose Bishop was adhering to Novatian's heretical severity toward the lapsed, the Church is compared to a harbor and an inn. If any port on the sea, its bulwarks breached, becomes hazardous and perilous for ships, do not navigators direct their ships to other nearby harbors where there is a sheltered approach, safe entrance and secure anchorage? The same is now required of us, dearest brother, that we welcome our brethren who having avoided the Marcian crags seek the saving harbors of the Church.[122] By way of citing a prefiguration: That the sea was that sacrament of Baptism, moreover, the blessed Apostle Paul declares saying: *For I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that our fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the sea. And all in Moses were baptized, in the cloud, and in the sea.*[123]

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[116] 2.618. 2 (Nouatus) turbo et tempestas ad *fidei* facienda *naufragia,* . . .
cum sua tempestate Romae quoque ad euertendam ecclesiam
nauigans
similia illic et paria molitus est,

EPISTULA 55

[117] 2.624.21 reprehendenda non est in timore diuino
aestuantis animi sollicitudo suspensa.

EPISTULA 58

[118] 4.659.24 (si) per *maria* praecipiti nauigatione properantem
tempestas ac procella submerserit,
spectat militem suum Christus

EPISTULA 59

[119] 2.667.22 manere apud nos debet . . . stabilis adque inconcussa uirtus
contra *omnes incursus adque inpetus oblatrantium fluctuum*

[120] 6.673.20 ille qui Christo aduersarius et ecclesiae eius inimicus
ad hoc ecclesiae praepositum sua infestatione persequitur,
ut *gubernatore sublato* atrocius adque uiolentius
circa ecclesiae *naufragia* grassetur.

EPISTULA 61

[121] 1.695.17 (gratulamur tibi Lucio) ut pascendo gregi pastor
et *gubernandae naui gubernator* . . .
redderetur

Three other passages occur where men are mentioned as sailing to or from Rome with no allusion at all to the sea. Such a trip was evidently commonplace and unworthy of note. Epithets in a few phrases are noteworthy: *nauem quassatam et perforatam fluctibus; in hoc fluctu aestuantium fratrum mentes;* and *incursus adque inpetus oblatrantium fluctuum.*

The picture of safe harborage and ships being repaired after a stormy passage must have been familiar to all in Carthage from their own spacious port, but of pleasure in the contemplation of the beauty or majesty of the sea there is no evidence. As a source of peril from shipwreck to voyagers with its rocks and crags and

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EPISTULA 68

[122] 3.746. 8 quid enim si in *mari portus* aliquis *munitionibus suis ruptis*
infestus et periculosus esse nauibus coeperit,
nonne *nauigantes* ad alios proximos *portus* naues suas dirigunt,
ubi sit *tutus accessus et salutaris introitus et statio secura?* . . .
quod necesse est apud nos esse, frater carissime,
ut fratres nostros qui uitatis Marciani scopulis petunt
ecclesiae *portus salutares* suscipiamus.

EPISTULA 69

[123] 15.764. 8 *mare* autem illud sacramentum baptismi fuisse
declarat beatus apostolus Paulus dicens:
nolo enim uos ignorare, fratres, quia patres nostri
omnes sub nube fuerunt, et omnes per mare transierunt,
et omnes in Moyse baptizati sunt et in nube et in mari (Cf. 1 Cor. 10. 1,2).

storm-tossed waves, it represents temptation or sin, uncertainty, heresy or schism, the machinations of the rebels themselves; while the Church is a safe harbor; the Pope is the pilot; and on Scriptural authority the Red Sea is a prefiguration of Baptism.

Water

Water itself, an indispensable means of cleansing and sustaining life, and its natural sources: fountains, springs and streams have always been symbolic of purification and revivication. In the literature of the Church as well as in the Scriptures its use is constant. Two themes in particular, Baptism and the Eucharistic mingling of wine and water, involve the use and development of texts referring to water and its sources. The former gain so little from presenting the Latin excerpts that these have been omitted. The latter, because even the Scripture texts differ in vocabulary, are included. The one letter on the liturgy is addressed to a certain Caecilius.

The chalice which is offered in commemoration of Him should be offered mingled with wine. For when Christ says: *I am the true vine,* the blood of Christ is not water, certainly, but wine.[124] Noah, showing a type of future truth, drank not water but wine and thus expressed an image of the passion of the Lord.[125] In Proverbs the Holy Spirit declares the wine mingled, that is, he foretells with prophetic voice the chalice of the Lord mingled with water and wine, that it may appear that in the passion of the Lord, that was done which had been predicted before.[126] Furthermore, in Isaias, the Holy Spirit testifies this same thing concerning the Lord's passion saying: *Why then is thy apparel red, and thy garments as from the treading of the wine press, full and well trodden?* Could water make garments red or is there water in the wine press which is trodden by the feet or pressed out by the wine press?[127] But as often as water alone is mentioned in the

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EPISTULA 63

[124] 2.702.10 John 15. 1.

[125] 3.702.23

[126] 5.704.20 Cf. Prov. 9. 1-5.

[127] 7.705.11 Cf. Isa. 63. 2.

Holy Scriptures, baptism is predicated as we intimated in Isaias: . . . *I will make a way in the desert, and rivers in a place without water . . . to give drink to my chosen people. . . .* God there foretold by the prophets that among the gentiles in places which had formerly been unwatered, rivers should afterward flow, and to the chosen race of God, that is those, through the generation of baptism, made sons of God, they should give water. Likewise, it is again predicted and foretold that the Jews, if they should thirst and seek Christ, shall drink with us; that is, receive the grace of Baptism. He says: *If they thirst he shall lead them through the desert, he shall bring forth water for them from a rock, the rock shall be cleft and water shall flow, and my people shall drink.* He cries out and says: *If any man thirst, let him come to me, and drink. He that believeth in me, as the scripture saith, Out of his belly shall flow rivers of the living water. . . .* So also, in another place the Lord speaks to the Samaritan woman, saying: *Whosoever drinketh of this water, shall thirst again; but he that shall drink of the water that I will give him, shall not thirst for ever.* By which is also signified the very baptism of saving water, which is certainly taken once, and is not repeated again. But the chalice of the Lord is always both thirsted for and drunk in the Church.[128] Nor is there need of very many arguments, dearest brother, to prove that by the appellation of water, baptism is always indicated, and that we ought thus to understand it, since the Lord coming manifested the truth of baptism and the chalice, Who commanded that that faithful water, the water of life eternal, be given to believers in baptism, and Who taught truly that the chalice is to be mingled with the union of wine and water after the example of His own ministry.[129]

How perverse and how contrary it is that when the Lord at the wedding made wine from water, we should make water from wine, when even the consecration of the thing ought to admonish and teach us rather to offer wine in the sacrifices of the Lord. For because among the Jews spiritual grace had failed, the wine also failed: *For the vineyard of the Lord of hosts is the house of Israel.*

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[128] 8.706. 3 Cf. Isa. 43. 19,20; Cf. Isa. 48. 21; Cf. John 7. 37,38; Cf. John 4. 13.

[129] 9.707.19.

Christ, however, when teaching and showing that the people of the gentiles should succeed, and finally enter into the place, which the Jews had lost, through the merit of faith, made wine from water; that is, He showed that at the wedding of Christ and the Church, when the Jews were absent, the people of the gentiles should flow together and assemble the more. For the divine Scripture in the Apocalypse declares that the waters signify the peoples, saying: *The waters which thou sawest, where the harlot sitteth, are peoples, and nations, and tongues.* This we undoubtedly perceive to be contained also in the sacrament of the chalice.[130]

For because Christ bore us all, in that He also bore our sins, we see in the water that the people is understood; in the wine, however, the blood of Christ is shown. When the water is mingled in the chalice with wine, the people are made one with Christ, and the multitude of believers is linked and joined with Him in Whom they believe. This union and conjunction of water and wine is thus mingled in the chalice of the Lord that that mixture may not be separated one from another. . . . For if anyone offers wine alone, the blood of Christ is without us; if, however, the water is alone, the people are without Christ. . . . Thus, indeed, the chalice of the Lord is not water alone or wine alone, unless each is mingled with the other; just as the body of the Lord cannot be flour alone or water alone, unless both be united and joined and solidified in the mass of one bread.[131]

The Baptismal controversy involving an extensive correspondence resulted in an equally extensive discussion of water, real and symbolic, including all the possible Scriptural allusions:

If, however, the Spouse of Christ, which is the Church, is . . . a fountain sealed up, he can neither drink thence nor be sealed who had no access to the fountain, being placed without. A well of living water also, if it is one, and the same is within, a man, placed without, cannot be vivified and sanctified by that water, the use and drink from which is granted only to those who are within. . . . Peter also showing that there is only one Church declared that only those who are in the Church can be baptized and said: *In the*

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[130] 12.710.21 Cf. Isa. 5. 7; Cf. Apoc. 17. 15.

[131] 13.711.12.

ark of Noe a few, that is, eight souls of men were saved by water. Whereunto baptism being of the like form, now saveth you also, proving and testifying that the one ark of Noe was a type of the one Church. If then he who was not in the ark of Noe could have been saved by water in that baptism of an expiated and purified world, he also who is not in the Church to which alone baptism is granted can now be vivified through baptism. Paul moreover even more openly and clearly showing this same truth to the Ephesians writes and says: *Christ loved the church and delivered himself up for it, that he might sanctify it, cleansing it by the laver of water.*[132]

Therefore since the Church alone has the living water and the power of baptizing and cleansing man, let him who says that anyone can be baptized and sanctified by the Novatians first show and prove that Novatian is in the Church or presides over the Church.[133]

So great was the wrath of the Lord against those who had made the schism that even when the man of God was sent to Jeroboam to reprove their sins and foretell the vengeance to come he was forbidden to eat bread among them and to drink water. . . . And does anyone of you dare to say that the saving water of baptism and its heavenly grace ought to be held in common with schismatics with whom neither earthly food nor worldly drink ought to be in common?[134]

You asked me also, dearest son, what it seemed to me concerning those who in weakness and ill health seek the grace of God, whether they should be considered true Christians in that they have not been bathed with the saving water but only sprinkled. . . . We think that in no way can the divine favor be mutilated or weakened . . . that is, if received with the full and entire faith both of the one giving and the one receiving . . . since the Holy Scripture speaks through the prophet Ezechiel, saying: *And I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness.* And again: *And the Lord spoke to Moses, saying: Take the*

EPISTULA 69

[132] 2.751. 3 Cf. Cant. 4. 12; Cf. I Peter 3. 20,21; Cf. Eph. 5. 25,26.

[133] 3.752. 5.

[134] 6.755. 5.

Levites out of the midst of the children of Israel, and thou shalt purify them, according to this rite: Let them be sprinkled with the water of purification. And again: *The water of aspersion is a purification.*[135]

But if anyone is disturbed by this that certain ones of those who were baptized in sickness were still tempted by unclean spirits, let him know that the obstinate wickedness of the devil prevails even to the saving water; in true Baptism he loses all the poison of his wickedness. We see an example of this in King Pharoah who, having long resisted and delayed in his perfidy, could resist and prevail until he came to the water; when he came thither, he was both conquered and destroyed. . . . However when we come to the saving water and to the sanctification of baptism, we ought to know and to believe that there the devil is crushed, and man, dedicated to God, is freed by divine favor.[136]

No one outside the Church can be baptized since one baptism has been established in the holy Church and it is written, the Lord saying: *They have forsaken me, the fountain of living water and have digged to themselves broken cisterns that can hold no water,* and again the sacred Scripture warns and says: *Refrain thyself from the strange water and do not drink from a strange spring.* The water, then, ought to be cleansed and sanctified first by the priest so that it may be able to wash away, through its baptism, the sins of the man who is baptized, as the Lord says through Ezechiel: *And I will pour upon you clean water, and you shall be cleansed from all your filthiness and I will cleanse you from all your idols. And I will give you a new heart, and put a new spirit within you.* How then can he cleanse and sanctify the water who is himself unclean and in whom the Holy Spirit is not? since the Lord says in Numbers: *All things whatsoever a person toucheth who is unclean, shall be unclean.*[137]

Those who have been bathed outside the Church and soiled among heretics and schismatics with the stain of profane water ought to be baptized when they come to us and to the Church which is one. . . . For then finally they can be wholly sanctified and be sons of God if they are born of each sacrament, since it is written: *Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost he cannot enter into the kingdom of God.*[138]

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[135] 12.760.14 Cf. Ezech. 36. 25; Cf. Num. 19. 8,12,13; Cf. Num. 8. 5-7; Cf. Num. 19. 9.

[136] 15.764. 1.

EPISTULA 70

[137] 1.767. 8 Cf. Jer. 2. 13; Cf. Prov. 9. 18 (lxx); Cf. Ezech. 36. 25,26; Cf. Num. 19. 22.

And now we (the council of Carthage) have declared . . . there is but one baptism in the Catholic Church and through this those are not rebaptized but baptized who come to us from adulterous and profane water to be washed and sanctified by the truth of saving water.[139]

This matter of profane and adulterous baptism the prophet Jeremias plainly touches upon, saying: *Why is my sorrow become perpetual, and my wound desperate so as to refuse to be healed? It is become to me as the falsehood of deceitful waters that cannot be trusted.* The Holy Spirit through the prophet makes mention of the lying and faithless water. What is this lying and perfidious water? Certainly that which falsely assumes the likeness of baptism and frustrates the grace of faith by shadowy pretence.[140]

The sons of Aaron also who placed strange fire upon the altar were at once consumed in the sight of an angry Lord. This punishment remains for those who bring in strange water by a false baptism.[141]

The Church showing forth the likeness of paradise includes within her walls fruit-bearing trees from which that which does not bring forth good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire. These trees she waters with four rivers; that is, four Gospels through which she bestows the grace of saving baptism by a celestial inundation. Can anyone who is not in the Church water from the fountains of the Church? Can any one impart to anyone the wholesome and saving draughts of paradise, who is perverted and condemned of himself and banished outside the fountains of paradise and failed with the dryness of eternal thirst?[142]

EPISTULA 72

[138] 1.775.10 Cf. John 3. 5.

EPISTULA 73

[139] 1.779. 5.

[140] 6.782.21 Cf. Jer. 15. 18.

[141] 8.784. 9 Cf. Lev. 10. 1,2.

[142] 10.785.16.

The Lord cries out that whosoever thirsts should come and drink from the rivers of living water which have flowed out of his belly. Whither is he to go who thirsts? to the heretics where there is no fountain and river of living water at all, or to the Church which is one and has been founded upon one who has received His keys by the voice of the Lord? We, with divine permission, water the thirsting people of God; we guard the boundaries of the living waters. . . . The water of the Church, faithful and saving and holy, cannot be corrupted or adulterated just as the Church itself is incorrupt and chaste and modest.[143]

But if the baptism of public confession and of blood can not avail a heretic for salvation, because outside the Church there is no salvation, how much more will it avail him nothing if in hiding-places and robbers' caves, stained by the contagion of adulterous water, he not only has not put off his old sins but rather has even added new and greater ones?[144] Water alone cannot cleanse sins and sanctify a man, unless he has also the Holy Spirit.[145]

If a channel, conveying water which formerly flowed copiously and freely, suddenly fail, do we not go to the fountain that there the reason for the failure may be learned: whether the water has diminished at the fountainhead, because the sources are drying up, or whether, rushing forth thence free and full, it has ceased in midcourse; so that, if it has been caused by an interrupted or leaky channel that the constant water does not flow continuously and perennially, then, the channel being repaired and strengthened, the water collected may be furnished for the use and drink of the city with the same fertility and abundance with which it flows from the spring?

The sacrament of this unity we see expressed even in the Canticle of Canticles from the person of Christ saying: *My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up, a well of living water, a paradise with the fruit of apples.* If however his Church is a garden enclosed and a fountain sealed up how can anyone who is not in the Church enter into this same garden or drink from his fountain?[146]

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[143] 11.786. 3 Cf. John 7. 37,38.

[144] 21.795. 2.

EPISTULA 74

[145] 5.803.19.

The few passages which refer to water in springs or streams with one exception have their source in the Scriptures: the rivers which the Lord causes to flow in waterless places to give drink to His chosen people introduces the unusual terms *inaquosus* and *adaquo* which seem to have been in Cyprian's Bible. The broken cisterns which can hold no water are *lacus detritos* instead of the Vulgate *cisternas dissipatas*. The garden of paradise watered by four rivers is presented as a prefiguration of the Church inspired by the four Gospels. He who is shut off from her springs dies of eternal thirst. The excerpt from 73.11 has a beautiful balanced comparison of the water of the Church and the Church herself. Finally the one non-Scriptural simile: as one goes to the fountain-head to learn the reason for a failing water supply, whether the spring is drying up or a leaking conduit needs repair, so it is necessary to return to the source of divine tradition and thus to avoid human error[147]—Carthage depending on her long aqueducts and well-filled cisterns would find that an especially effective figure.

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[146] 10.808. 1 nam si ad diuinae traditionis caput et originem reuertamur.
cessat error humanus . . .
ut si *canalis aquam* ducens
qui copiose prius et largiter *profluebat* subito deficiat,
nonne ad *fontem* pergitur, ut illic defectionis ratio noscatur,
utrumne *arescentibus uenis* in capite *unda* siccauerit
an uero integra inde et plena procurrens in medio itinere destiterit,
ut si uitio interrupti aut *bibuli canalis* effectum est
quo minus *aqua continua* perseueranter ac iugiter flueret,
refecto et confirmato *canali* ad usum adque ad potum ciuitatis
aqua collecta eadem ubertate adque integritate repraesentetur
qua de *fonte proficiscitur?*
11.809. 1 si autem ecclesia eius hortus conclusus est et *fons signatus*,
quomodo in eundem hortum introire aut bibere de *fonte* eius potest
qui in ecclesia non est?

EPISTULA 63

[147] 8.706. 3 Quotienscumque autem *aqua* sola in scripturis sanctis nominatur,
baptisma praedicatur, ut apud Esaiam significare uidemus.
. . .

Air
Rain, Winds and Storms

Air is mentioned but once in the letters; storms and gales, usually figurative, connote danger and destruction. Various activities of air provide verbal metaphor.

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faciam in deserto uiam,
et flumina in loco inaquoso adaquare genus meum electum (Cf. Isa. 43. 19,20), . . .
praenuntiauit illic per prophetam Deus quod apud gentes in locis,
quae *inaquosa* prius fuissent
flumina postmodum *redundarent*
et electum genus Dei, id est per generationem baptismi filios Dei factos *adaquarent.*

EPISTULA 69
2.751. 2 de qua (ecclesia) item denuo dicit:
hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa,
fons signatus, puteus aquae uiuae
(Cf. Cant. 4. 12,15).
si autem hortus conclusus est sponsa Christi quae est ecclesia, patere res clausa alienis et profanis non potest.
et si *fons* signatus est, neque bibere inde neque consignari potest cui foris posito accessus ad *fontem* non est.
puteus quoque *aquae uiuae* si unus est, idem qui intus est, uiuificari et sanctificari foris positus ex illa *aqua* non potest

EPISTULA 70
1.767. 8 neminem baptizari foris extra ecclesiam posse,
cum sit baptisma unum in sancta ecclesia constitutum et scriptum sit
Domino dicente: *me dereliquerunt fontem aquae uitae,*
et effoderunt sibi lacus detritos qui non possunt aquam portare (Cf. Jer. 2. 13),
et iterum scriptura diuina moneat et dicat:
ab aqua aliena abstine te et a fonte alieno ne biberis
(Cf. Prov. 9. 18 [lxx]).

EPISTULA 73
10.785.16 ecclesia paradisi instar exprimens arbores frugiferas
intra muros suos intus inclusit. . . .
has arbores *rigat quattuor fluminibus*
id est euangeliis quattuor,

While we disregarded the commands of God, the enemy exulted over his opportunity to destroy us: This was shown (in a vision) long before the storm of devastation arose.[148] Let us ask that peace may soon be restored, that we may quickly be relieved in our hiding places and our perils, that those things may be fulfilled which the Lord sees fit to show to His servants: the restoration of the church, the security of our salvation; after the showers, a cloudless sky; after the darkness, light; after the gales and whirlwinds, peaceful calm.[149] Let not your care and watchfulness be

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quibus baptismi gratiam salutari et caelesti *inundatione* largitur.
numquid de ecclesiae *fontibus rigare* potest
qui intus in ecclesia non est?
numquid paradisi potus salubres et salutares inpertire cuiquam potest
qui peruersus et a semet ipso damnatus
et extra paradisi *fontes relegatus aruit*
et aeternae sitis siccitate defecit?
11.786. 3 Clamat Dominus ut qui sitit ueniat et bibat de *fluminibus aquae uiuae,*
quae de eius uentre fluxerunt (Cf. John 7. 37,38).
quo uenturus est qui sitit,
utrumne ad haereticos ubi *fons et fluuius aquae uitalis* omnino non est,
an ad ecclesiam quae una est et super unum
qui et claues eius accepit Domini uoce fundata est? . . .
nos diuino permissu *rigamus* sitientem Dei populum,
nos custodimus terminos *uitalium fontium*. . . .
aqua ecclesiae fidelis et salutaris et sancta
corrumpi et adulterari non potest,
sicut et ipsa ecclesia incorrupta et casta et pudica est.

EPISTULA 11

[148] 4.498.17 hoc prius longe ostensum est quam *tempestas uastitatis* huius oriretur.

[149] 8.501.17 rogemus pacem maturius reddi,
cito latebris nostris et periculis subueniri,
inpleri quae famulis suis Dominus dignatur ostendere,
redintegrationem ecclesiae suae,
securitatem salutis nostrae,
post pluuias serenitatem,
post tenebras lucem,
post procellas et turbines placidam lenitatem,

wanting to the poor. . . . Now indeed greater love and care ought to be shown to them by us because, neither driven by poverty nor prostrated by the storm of persecution, they presented an example of faith to other poor while they served the Lord faithfully.[150] In proportion as we grieve over those whom the hostile storm has brought low, so much we rejoice over you whom the devil could not overcome.[151] These same confessors, however, occasion a metaphorical use of air in a pejorative sense: Some I hear are puffed up and swell (with pride).[152] But since the hostile storm which has prostrated our people in great measure has also added a weight to our sorrows, . . .[153] we pray God that we may learn that you who stand in faith and in virtue are safe. Let the greatest care be taken of the poor . . . lest what storm has not brought about among the faithful, need may cause among the suffering.[154]

Verbal metaphor occurs again concerning the confessors' wholesale grant of pardon to the lapsed which caused the Bishop's policy of a personal decision on the merits of each individual case seem unfair: A matter which blows up greater hostility against me.[155] When the representatives of the schismatic pope Novatian insisted on being heard, Cyprian in council said it ill befit their dignity to

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EPISTULA 12

[150] 2.504. 2 pauperibus . . . cura ac diligentia uestra non desit . . .
quibus quidem nunc maior a nobis et dilectio et cura praestanda est,
quod nec paupertate adacti
nec *persecutionis tempestate* prostrati,
dum Domino fideliter seruiunt,
ceteris quoque pauperibus exemplum fidei praebuerunt.

EPISTULA 13

[151] 1.505. 2 quantum dolemus ex illis quos *tempestas inimica* prostrauit,
tantum laetamur ex uobis quos diabolus superare not potuit.

[152] 4.507. 4 *inflari* aliquos et tumere audio,

EPISTULA 14

[153] 1.509. 8 *infesta tempestas* quae plebem nostram ex maxima parte prostrauit
hunc quoque addidit nostris doloribus cumulum

[154] 2.510.15 habeatur . . . pauperum cura, . . .
ne quod circa fidentes *tempestas* non fecit
circa laborantes necessitas faciat.

EPISTULA 27

[155] 2.542. 8 quae res maiorem nobis *conflat* inuidiam,

permit the honor of a colleague, already chosen and ordained and approved by the praiseworthy opinion of all, to be "breezed" about further by the malicious voice of his rivals.[156] Novatus, the schismatic priest of Carthage, is described to Pope Cornelius as puffed up with arrogance and with the stupor of haughty inflation . . . a torch and fire for fanning flames of sedition, a whirlwind and storm for making shipwreck of faith. . . . Finally when Novatus withdrew thence from you, that is, when the blast and whirlwind departed, a calm ensued. Sailing to Rome with his own tempest to overthrow the Church, he designed similar and like evils there.[157] However, since I see that after the first opinion of your letter you have been disturbed by the letters of Novatian, I put forth this in the first place, dearest brother (Antonianus), that earnest men, and those once founded on a strong rock with solid stability are moved, I do not say by a light breeze, but also neither by a wind or whirlwind: lest a mind doubtful and uncertain with varied opinions be frequently agitated as if by certain gusts of winds rushing upon them, and be changed from their purpose with some fault of levity.[158] Notwithstanding Cyprian's action concern-

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EPISTULA 44

[156] 2.598.12 ut collegae nostri iam delecti et ordinati
et laudabili multorum sententia conprobati
uentilari ultra honorem maledica aemulantium uoce
pateremur.

EPISTULA 52

[157] 2.617.21 adrogantia et stupore superbi tumoris *inflatus* (Nouatus)
fax et ignis ad *conflanda* seditionis incendia,
turbo et tempestas ad fidei facienda naufragia . . .
Nouato illinc a uobis recedente
id est *procella et turbine recedente*
ex parte illic quies facta est, . . .
cum sua tempestate Romae quoque ad euertendam ecclesiam nauigans
similia illic et paria molitus est,

EPISTULA 55

[158] 3.625. 2 illud, frater carissime, primo in loco pono
graues uiros et semel super petram solida stabilitate fundatos
non dico *aura leui* sed nec *uento* aut *turbine* commoueri,
ne animus dubius et incertus uariis opinionibus

ing the lapsed, in perfect accord with the council: many (evil) things are "breezed" about by the voices of many.[159] Speaking of the character of Pope Cornelius: He neither asked nor wished for the episcopate nor, as others, whom the swelling of their own arrogance and pride inflates, seized it.[160] If in time of persecution storm and winds overwhelm a man, hastening in precipitous voyage over the seas, Christ everywhere beholds His soldier, fighting.[161] What vaunting is there, what swelling and inflated and vain boasting in the threateners, there to threaten me absent when here they have me present in their power?[162] Exaltation and inflation and arrogant and proud boasting are born not of the teaching of Christ who inculcates humility but of the spirit of antichrist whom the Lord through the prophet upbraids and says: *And thou saidst in thy heart: I will ascend into heaven, I will exalt my throne above the stars of God, I will sit in the mountain of the covenant, in the sides of the north. I will ascend above the heights of the clouds, I will be like the most High.*[163] And he added saying: *But yet thou*

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uelut quibusdam *uentorum incursantium flatibus*
frequenter agitetur
et a proposito suo cum quadam leuitatis reprehensione mutetur.

[159] 7.628.17 multa multorum uocibus *uentilentur*

[160] 8.629.12 ceteri quos adrogantiae et superbiae suae tumor *inflat*
(inuaserunt episcopatum)

EPISTULA 58

[161] 4.659.24 per maria praecipiti nauigatione properantem
tempestas ac procella submerserit,

EPISTULA 59

[162] 2.668.11 quae autem sui elatio est,
quae comminantium tumens et *inflata* et uana iactatio,
illic absenti minari,
cum hic me habeant in potestate praesentem?
Cf. 748. 5.

[163] 3.669. 9 exaltatio et *inflatio* et adrogans ac superba iactatio
non de Christi magisterio,
qui humilitatem docet,
sed de antichristi spiritu nascitur,
cui exprobrat per prophetam Dominus et dicit:
tu autem dixisti in animo tuo:
in caelum ascendam, super stellas Dei ponam sedem meam,

shalt be brought down to hell, into the depth of the pit. So he writes to Pope Cornelius when impugned by the schismatic element—he, a bishop, preserving discipline in quiet, proscribed in storm.[164]

Tempestas, always *infesta* or *inimica* expressed or implied in context, with *flatus, procella, turbo* and *uentus* suggests persecution, spiritual trials, machinations of heretics or schismatics, and just once real storms at sea. Once also *aura leuis* occurs. *Inflo* with *tumeo,* and the nouns *inflatio* and *tumor* describe the swelling of pride. *Conflo* fans the flames of evil passion. *Ventilo* twice suggests the airing or breezing about of false rumors. Only in the Scripture is there a specific name of *aquilo,* the north wind. Sea and navigation have already presented further use of these terms.

Fire

The letters differ little from the treatises in the use of fire and its warmth, either real or metaphorical. The sacrilegious rivals of Aaron, his sons, and the three young men in the fiery furnace reappear, the last repeatedly. Concerning the deacon who was contending against his bishop, St. Cyprian quotes Numbers 16 to show that the voice of God has gone forth with His true and highest majesty to honor and avenge His priests. Not only the sacrilegious ministers but two hundred and fifty others who were companions in their daring, were consumed by fire bursting forth from the Lord.[165] Virgins are to be removed from the occasion of sin just as: Baggage must quickly be drawn away from a fire before it is burned by mounting flames.[166] No one is long safe very

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sedebo in monte alto super montes altos in aquilonem,
ascendam super nubes, ero similis altissimo
Cf. 730. 7; 748. 4; (Cf. Isa. 14. 13-16).

[164] 6.673.11 episcopus . . . in quiete seruiens disciplinae,
in *tempestate* proscriptus, . . . inpugnari uidetur.

EPISTULA 3

[165] 1.470. 7 nec soli illi, sed et ceteri ducenti quinquaginta
qui eis comites ad audaciam fuerunt
prorumpente a Domino *igne consumpti sunt,*

EPISTULA 4

[166] 2.474. 5 exuenda est uelociter de *incendio* sarcina
prius quam *flammis superuenientibus concremetur.*

near to danger. Sacred Scripture speaks of the torments which consecrate the martyrs of God and sanctify them with the very proof of suffering: . . . *As gold in the furnace he hath proved them, and as a victim of a holocaust he hath received them.* . . .[167] That every sex and age may be with you in honor, divine grace has associated children also with you in your glorious confession, representing to us something such as Ananias, Azarias, and Misael, the illustrious young men once did; to whom when enclosed in the furnace, the fires gave way and the flames yielded a place of coolness, the Lord being present with them and proving that against His confessors and martyrs, the burning heat of hell could achieve nothing. . . . For, prepared for everything as we all ought to be, they say to the king: *There is a God whom we worship, able to save us from the furnace of burning fire, and to deliver us out of thy hands, O king.*[168] Numidicus by his exhortation has sent a glorious band of martyrs to heaven before him and has beheld with joy his faithful wife consumed, or rather I should say, saved by fire. He himself, half-burned and heaped over with stones and left for dead . . . was found half-alive, drawn out, and though unwilling, was warmed back to life.[169] Cornelius who long awaited

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EPISTULA 6

[167] 2.481.17 *tamquam aurum in fornace probauit illos*
et quasi holocaustam hostiam accepit illos (Cf. Wisd. 3. 6).

[168] 3.483. 5 Ananias Azarias Misael inlustres pueri aliquando fecerunt,
quibus inclusis in caminum cesserunt *ignes*
et *refrigerii locum flammae dederunt,*
praesente cum illis Domino et probante,
quod in confessores et martyras eius
nihil posset *gehennae ardor* operari, . . .
est enim Deus cui nos seruimus potens eripere nos
de camino ignis ardentis,
et de manibus tuis, rex, liberabit nos (Cf. Dan. 3. 17).

EPISTULA 40

[169] 1.585.15 (Numidicus) qui hortatu suo gloriosum martyrum numerum
lapidibus et *flammis* necatum ante se misit
quique ad uxorem haerentem lateri suo *concrematam* . . .
sed conseruatam magis dixerim, laetus aspexit.
ipse *semiustilatus* et lapidibus obrutus et pro mortuo derelictus,
. . .
semianimis inuentus et extractus et *focillatus* a comitibus

the executioners of the body who scorch with fire is still accounted among the martyrs.[170] Urging Christians in the dread time of persecution to imitate the just and brave figures of the Old Testament, Cyprian again includes the three young men who though under order, stood stronger than the threats of the king and the flames.[171] In another letter they are mentioned to console those disappointed in their desire for a martyr's death: For the dignity of martyrdom was no less in the three youths because, death baffled, they went forth unharmed from the furnace of fire, . . . since martyrdom deferred shows forth the mightiness of divine protection. . . . For we see represented in you what the brave and noble youths declared, that they were ready indeed to burn in the flames so as not to serve his gods . . . for the God whom they worshipped and whom we also worship, was powerful enough to deliver them from the furnace of fire.[172] And yet again, reassuring those scandalized at the defection of some of the clergy, the Bishop recalls troublous times in Jewish history: Daniel, and likewise the three youths broken neither by their (scanty) years nor by threats stood faithfully against the Babylonian fires and conquered the conquering king in their very captivity.[173] Opposition to the schismatic Novatian's power to confer the sacraments is supported by God's command: the very censers also, in which incense had

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EPISTULA 55

[170] 9.630.22 corporis sui carnifices . . . *igne torrerent*

EPISTULA 58

[171] 5.660.13 iussi et minis regis et *flammis* fortiores extiterunt

EPISTULA 61

[172] 2.695.22 Neque enim in tribus pueris minor fuit martyrii dignitas,
quia morte frustrata de camino *ignis* incolumes exierunt. . . .
fortes adque inlustres pueri praedicauerunt,
ipsos quidem paratos esse *ardere flammis,* ne diis eius seruirent . . .
Deum tamen quem colebant, quemque et nos colimus,
potentem esse ut quos de *camino ignis* eximeret

EPISTULA 67

[173] 8.742. 4 tres item pueros nec annis nec minis fractos
contra *ignes* Babylonios fideliter obstitisse
et uictorem regem in ipsa sua captiuitate uicisse.

been offered, by order of the Lord melted down and purged by the fire are beaten into plates and fastened to the altar[174] lest they be used by any priests thereafter. The sons of Aaron who had placed strange fire on the altar were forthwith destroyed in the sight of an indignant Lord.[175] Even the Baptism of blood would not benefit schismatics according to the evidence of the Apostle: who says it can profit them nothing although they have been burned and slain.[176]

Ignis and *flamma,* given added color by a verb form such as *prorumpente igne,* and *flammis superuenientibus,* are usual; *incendium* and *fornax* appear once each; *holocaustam hostiam* from Cyprian's Old Testament, *semiustilatis,* spelled *semiustulatus* in the *De Lapsis* 13, and *focillatus* are rare. *Refrigerium,* elsewhere as in the *De Mortalitate* 15, the Christian concept of the refreshing coolness of heaven, is included here by way of contrast to the burning heat of hell.

Only one simile and two allusions to torture by fire are unscriptural. The repeated references to the punishment of crimes connected with the priesthood of Aaron can be attributed to the activities of schismatic priests during Cyprian's episcopacy. The three youthful Hebrews, on the other hand, were gallant and inspiring figures whose story was especially pertinent during the current crises, with its comforting assurance of their God's watchfulness and power. It was likewise an apt illustration for various other lessons: youth is not excluded from the glory of martyrdom; its courage is indomitable; glory is not dimmed because death fails to consummate a sacrifice; even as captive one can be a conqueror —in no case do these lessons duplicate those in the treatises.

EPISTULA 69

[174] 8.757. 7 turibula quoque ipsa, in quibus *incensum* inlicite fuerat oblatum,
ne in usum de cetero essent sacerdotibus, . . .
iussu Domini *conflata adque igne purgata*
in laminas ductiles producuntur et adfiguntur altari

EPISTULA 73

[175] 8.784. 9 filii Aaron qui alienum *ignem* altari inposuerunt
in conspectu statim Domini indignantis *extincti sunt.*

[176] 21.794.23 qui nihil eos quamuis *exustos* et occisos dicit posse proficere,

Fire Metaphorical

Age-old and universal is the Scriptural metaphor: *His anger shall blaze out against us* (*exarserit ira*);[177] Scriptural in thought too is the warning to irresolute virgins that it is better to marry than to fall into the fire (*ignem*) for their sins.[178] In prison all were found animated by equal and like glow of courage (*calore uirtutis*) for waging the combat;[179] blood was flowing to extinguish the fire of persecution, to quiet the flames and fires of gehenna with its glorious gore (*qui incendium persecutionis extingueret, qui flammas et ignes gehennae glorioso cruore sopiret*)[180] —the figure here is maintained. St. Paul is quoted asking: *Who is scandalized and I am not on fire* (*uror*)?[181] There is less evidence that the original notion of heat in the words: *fouete* and *focillate,* was conscious in his instruction given the priests to cherish the lapsed by their presence and to keep them fervent by their encouragement lest they abandon the Lord's faith and mercy;[182] yet it is quite in keeping with his frequent use of the figure, *calor fidei*—the warmth of faith—which must needs be kept glowing, especially in the breasts of the weaker souls already

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EPISTULA 4

[177] 1.473.14 *continete disciplinam, ne forte irascatur Dominus,*
et pereatis a uia recta,
cum exarserit cito ira eius super uos
(Cf. Ps. 2. 12,13).

[178] 2.474.17 si autem perseuerare nolunt uel non possunt,
melius nubant quam in *ignem* delictis suis cadant.

EPISTULA 10

[179] 1.490.13 iam conperi . . . uniuersos quos agmine glorioso carcer inclusit pari et simili *calore uirtutis* ad gerendum certamen animatos,

[180] 2.491.18 fluebat sanguis qui *incendium persecutionis extingueret,*
qui *flammas* et *ignes gehennae* glorioso cruore sopiret.

EPISTULA 17

[181] 1.521. 7 *quis scandalizatur et non ego uror* (Cf. 2 Cor. 11. 29)?

EPISTULA 18

[182] 2.524. 9 Ceteram quoque partem plebis quae lapsa est
praesentia uestri *fouete*
et ut a fide et misericordia Domini non deficiant
uestro solacio *focillate.*

lapsed and suffering the pains of both remorse and penance. The lapsed whose penitence is so deep and the warmth of whose faith (*fidei calor*) is so strong that they cannot brook delay may appear before the judges again to profess that faith[183]—this passage from Epistle 19, Cyprian quotes himself in Epistle 55. 4. The confessor Lucian however is described as warm in faith (*fide calidus*) and strong in virtue.[184] At his letter some of the turbulent souls begin to blaze out still more as though kindled by firebrands (*facibus accensi plus exardescere*).[185] He laments that he is not permitted to greet his people—he, the bishop whom they had made with such love and ardor;[186] *amore et ardore* might be considered hendiadys for ardent love. The rebellious trouble-maker is called a firebrand and blaze for kindling the flames of sedition . . . the same Novatus who first sowed the fire of discord among us[187] (*fax et ignis ad conflanda seditionis incendia . . . discordiae incendium seminauit*) —a metaphor slightly mixed by *seminauit*. Again he warns that they must not be bitter nor hard nor inhuman in cherishing the brethren[188]—in keeping them warm, fervent in faith (*fouendis*). Counseling sorrow and penance in this world, the Bishop says it is quite another thing to be purged by enduring fire (*purgari diu*

EPISTULA 19

[183] 2.526.15 si commissi uere et firmiter paenitet,
et *fidei calor* praeualet,
qui differri non potest potest coronari.

EPISTULA 27

[184] 1.540.14 frater noster Lucianus et ipse unus de confessoribus,
fide quidem *calidus* et uirtute robustus

[185] 3.542.18 quidam turbulenti, . . . per hanc epistolam
uelut quibusdam *facibus accensi*
plus *exardescere* et pacem sibi datam extorquere coeperunt.

EPISTULA 43

[186] 4.593. 7 sacerdoti quem tanto amore et *ardore* fecistis
necdum uos salutare
et necdum conplexibus uestris inhaerere contingat.

EPISTULA 52

[187] 2.618. 1 *fax et ignis* ad conflanda seditionis *incendia,* . . . Nouatus,
qui apud nos primum *discordiae* . . . *incendium* seminauit,

EPISTULA 55

[188] 19.637.16 non acerbi adeo nec duri nec in *fouendis* fratribus inhumani
esse debemus,

igne).[189] Almsgiving indeed frees from death but not that death which once the blood of Christ extinguished[190]—this suggests a mixed metaphor, perhaps associated with some such thought as that cited from Epistle 10 where the martyr's blood flowed to quench the fire of persecution and still the flames of gehenna; Christ's blood indeed quenched the fires of an everlasting death. Novatian's attempt to extend his schismatic church by setting up new bishops above those already duly consecrated was destined to failure for he was unaware that though schismatics always glow with fervor (*feruere*) amid beginnings;[191] they cannot hold their gains. It is presumptuous for man to make a final judgment on his fellowmen: the vessels of wood from the great house of St. Paul to Timothy are to be burned only in the day of the Lord and by the fire of a divine burning heat (*diuini ardoris incendio concrementur*).[192] St. Peter is quoted: *Think not strange the burning heat which is to try you*[193]—but this burning heat (*ardorem*) of trial has nothing in common with the punishing fire and sulphur (*igne et sulphure*) of the Apocalypse nor the smoke (*fumus*) of the torments which shall arise forever.[194] Commenting on St. Paul's warlike counsel to the Ephesians, St. Cyprian says: Let us bravely carry the shield of faith under whose protection whatever the foe may hurl can be extinguished (*extingui*)[195]—this would seem a mixed metaphor but for the fiery darts (*ignita iacula*) just mentioned in Eph. 6. 16. He looks forward to the day of the Lord's reckoning when He shall begin to send to gehenna those who have harmed them and to condemn their persecutors to the perpetual burning of the penal flame—*flammae poenalis perpetuo ardore* showing alliteration with *persecutores;* having done the will of the devil, together with him they must needs be tortured by the same unquenchable fire.[196] Dives the sinner implores aid of Lazarus, laid in Abraham's bosom and reposing in coolness when agonized in torments he is scorched by the heat of the burning flame (*cruciabundus flammae cremantis ardoribus aduratur*).[197] This passage includes one of Cyprian's favored adjectives in *-bundus* and the burning heat is in marked contrast with the coolness of the just in *refrigerio*. While the recent crimes of the delinquent were still glowing (*feruerent*) and not only the altars of the devil but the very hands and mouths of the lapsed were still reeking (*fumarent*) with ungodly sacrifices they did not cease to communicate with the lapsed.[198] Is it a light sin that the wrath and fire (*ignis*) and day of the Lord are not feared?[199] Quoting Proverbs: *perverse man carrieth perdition in his mouth and hideth fire* (*ignem*) *in his lips*.[200] Contributions are collected for the Numidian captives since all are inflamed (*accensi*) the more for works of salvation by the contemplation of such suffering.[201] Quite otherwise is the devil lashed and burned (*uratur*) and tortured by a human voice and divine power through the exorcists,[202] in an echo of the *Idola.* In the house of Cornelius the centurion, the Holy Spirit descended on the gentiles who were present, glowing with the warmth of faith (*fidei calore feruentes*), believing in the Lord with their whole heart.[203]

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[189] 20.638.19 aliud pro peccatis longo dolore cruciatum emundari
et purgari diu *igne,*

[190] 22.639.13 *eleemosyna a morte liberat* (Cf. Tob. 4. 11),
et non utique ab illa morte quam semel Christi sanguis
extinxit

[191] 24.643. 1 schismaticos semper inter initia *feruere*

[192] 25.643.23 non nisi die Domini uasa lignea *diuini ardoris incendio concrementur*

EPISTULA 58

[193] 2.658. 4 *nolite mirari ardorem accidentem uobis,*
qui ad temptationem uestram fit
(Cf. 1 Peter 4. 12).

[194] 7.663. 8 *et punietur igne et sulphure sub oculis sanctorum angelorum*
et sub oculis agni,
et fumus de tormentis eorum in saecula saeculorum ascendet
(Cf. Apoc. 14. 10,11),

[195] 9.664.21 portemus fortiter scutum fidei,
quo protegente quidquid iaculatur inimicus possit *extingui.*

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[196] 10.665. 7 mittere in *gehennam* nocentes
et persecutores nostros *flammae poenalis perpetuo ardore* damnare, . . .
eos necesse sit cum ipso simul *inextinguibili igne* torqueri.

EPISTULA 59

[197] 3.670. 5 diues ille peccator, qui de Lazaro in sinu Abraham posito
adque in *refrigerio* constituto
inplorat auxilium,
cum in tormentis cruciabundus *flammae cremantis ardoribus aduratur,*

[198] 12.679.21 cum recentia deliquentium facinora *feruerent*
et sacrificiis nefandis non tantum diaboli altaria
sed adhuc manus ipsae lapsorum adque ora fumarent,
communicare cum lapsis . . . non destiterunt.

[199] 13.682. 4 non timetur ira et *ignis* et dies Domini

[200] 20.690. 4 *peruersus,* inquit, *in suo ore portat perditionem*
et in labiis suis ignem condit
(Cf. Prov. 16. 27).

In Epistle 76 to the martyrs in the mines either *refrigerio* or *fouetur* must have completely lost its original connotation: In the mines the body is not warmed with couch and cushions but it is warmed by the coolness and consolation of Christ—is an obviously impossible rendering. *Fouetur* must mean cherished or *refrigerio* merely refreshment; the first seems more probable. The verb, however, is emphasized by its position at the beginning and end of the chiastic sentence.

Janssen, however, in his discussion of the development of the Christian meaning of the term *refrigerium* from Tertullian to Cyprian, without commenting on any possible significance to be attached to Cyprian's characteristic use of antithesis and word play quotes in footnote 2 on page 239 four passages: these two from Epistle 76,2 and 59,3, where *refrigerium* occurs in contrast or connection with heat; another from Epistle 6,3 (cf. note 168) in which the real flames yield to the youths in the fiery furnace and give them a place of refreshing coolness—here he uses Hartel's reading *refrigerium* and not Bayard's choice *locum refrigerii;* and a fourth from De Mortalitate 15—*ad refrigerium iusti vocantur, ad supplicium rapiuntur iniusti,* where heaven is obviously meant and no contrast with fire or heat appears. These four

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EPISTULA 62

[201] 4.700. 3 magis ad opera salutaria contemplatione tanti doloris *accensi.*

EPISTULA 69

[202] 15.764.14 per exorcistas uoce humana et potestate diuina flagelletur
et *uratur* et torqueatur diabolus.

EPISTULA 72

[203] 1.775.20 cum in domo Corneli centurionis super ethnicos
qui illic aderant
fidei calore feruentes,
in Dominum toto corde credentes descendisset spiritus
sanctus,

occurrences are cited in support of his statement that in Cyprian's writing *refrigerium* appears only in the general sense of invigoration, refreshment, consolation, and in the technical sense of heavenly blessedness.

The isolated instance of real cold is added here by way of contrast with *refrigerium* and because of its association in the same paragraph: Raiment is wanting to the chilled but he who has put on Christ is abundantly clothed and adorned.[204]

ORGANIC NATURE

Plants

Trees, Fields and Their Fruits

So little distinction is to be found in the Letters between the rare references to the real fruits of the fields and the quantity of figurative language that the only gain to be hoped for from this division is a realization of the rarity of the real and the comparative abundance of the figurative. To prove that clerics are not to be involved in secular affairs and finances the Levites of the old Law are cited: For while the others cultivated the land, the tribe of Levi cultivated God alone and received for food and nourishment from the eleven tribes, tithes of the fruits which were produced. . . . The same principle holds for the clergy . . . that in the deference of the contributions of the brethren, receiving tithes as it were of the fruits of the earth, they may not withdraw from the altar and sacrifices.[205] Showing that deprivation of the hope of ultimate pardon and communion would cause the lapsed to give up

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EPISTULA 76

[204] 2.829.25 non *fouetur* in metallis lecto et culcitis corpus,
sed *refrigerio* et solacio Christi *fouetur*. . . .
uestis *algentibus* deest,
sed qui Christum induit et uestitus abundanter et cultus est.

EPISTULA 1

[205] 1.466. 5 (leuitae) ad uictum adque alimentum suum ab undecim tribubus
de *fructibus qui nascebantur* decimas reciperet. . . .
in honore sportulantium fratrum tamquam decimas ex *fructibus*
accipientes ab altari et sacrificiis non recedant

the salutary practice of penance, Cyprian uses all the eloquence at his command: And O mockery of a frustrated brotherhood! O frail deception of wretched mourners! O ineffective and vain tradition of a heretical institution! to exhort to the penance of satisfaction and to withdraw the healing power from the satisfaction. . . . Who would not forthwith perish? who would not fail in very desperation? who would not avert his mind from the purpose of his lamentation? Do you think the husbandman could labor if you said: "Till your field with all the skill of husbandry, diligently persist in cultivation; but you shall reap no harvest, you shall press out no vintage, you shall receive no fruits from the olive, you shall pluck no fruits from the trees." Or if you should urge upon anyone the ownership and use of ships, saying: "Purchase timber from excellent forests, brother; fashion the keel with strongest chosen oak that your ship may be fitted and equipped; labor on rudder, ropes, sails; but when you have done these things you shall see no fruit from its performance or its voyages."[206]

EPISTULA 55

[206] 28.646. 8 Adque o frustrandae fraternitatis inrisio,
o miserorum lamentantium caduca deceptio,
o haereticae institutionis inefficax et uana traditio
hortari ad satisfactionis paenitentiam
et subtrahere de satisfactione medicinam, . . .
quis non statim pereat,
quis non ipsa desperatione deficiat,
quis non animum suum a proposito lamentationis auertat?
operari tu putas rusticum posse, si dixeris:
'*agrum* peritia omni rusticitatis exerce,
culturis diligenter insiste,
sed *nullam messem metes*
nullam uindemiam premes,
nullos olueti tui fructus capies
nulla de arboribus poma decerpes.'
uel si ei cui dominium et usum nauium suadeas dicas:
'materiam de *excellentibus siluis* mercare, frater
carinam *praeualidis* et *electis roboribus* intexe,
clauo, funibus, uelis, ut fabricetur adque armetur nauis operare,
sed cum haec feceris,
fructum de actibus eius et cursibus non uidebis.'

Just such passages as this, purporting to represent the spoken rather than the written word, must serve and probably do serve well in lieu of the missing texts of sermons which we know the Bishop must have preached in the zealous practice of his ministry. Even a glance at the Latin shows the method employed to insure the maximum effectiveness of the thought. More often, however, such quoted passages are taken from the Scriptures: But, dearest brother (Pope Cornelius), ecclesiastical discipline ought not be abandoned nor priestly censure be relaxed, when we are assailed by reproaches or shaken by fears, since sacred Scripture meets and admonishes us, saying: *I have seen the wicked highly exalted, and lifted up like the cedars of Libanus. And I passed by, and lo, he was not: and I sought him and his place was not found,*[207]—a passing reference to trees.

When word had been brought to me, beloved brethren, that grain dealers had been sent to take me to Utica, and I had been persuaded by the counsel of my dearest friends to depart from my gardens for the time being, I consented since an adequate cause existed[208]—thus the final letter to his clergy and people explains his decision to withdraw again temporarily so as not to be taken to trial out of his own episcopal city. Whatever connection there may or may not have been between real grain and the *frumentarios*[d]—the reading which Bayard prefers to Hartel's *commentarios* and defines as a sort of secret police whose name suggests some connection with army officers in charge of provisions,—there is no reason to doubt the close connection between real nature and the gardens.

No eloquent description appears in this farewell letter such as

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EPISTULA 59

[207] 3.669. 6 *uidi impium exaltatum et extolli super cedros Libani:*
et transiui, et ecce non fuit.
et quaesiui eum, et non est inuentus locus eius
(Cf. Ps. 36. 35,36).

EPISTULA 81

[208] 1.841. 3 Cum perlatum ad nos fuisset, fratres carissimi,
frumentarios esse missos qui me Vticam perducerent
et consilio carissimorum persuasum esset
ut de *hortis nostris* interim secederem,
iusta interueniente causa consensi,

[d] Cf. P-W-K 1. cols. 121-5.

there was in the *Ad Donatum;* yet these seem to be the same beloved gardens which, as was said before, Pontius tells us in the *Vita* 3 and 15, had been sold by the fervent convert in the very beginnings of his faith in obedience to the Gospel counsel to give alms to the poor, restored through the kindness of God—perhaps repurchased by his friends,—confiscated during the Decian persecution but apparently returned; for Pontius assures us that Cyprian would certainly have sold them again for the benefit of the poor, had he not feared to rouse the jealousy of his persecutors. After a year of enforced exile in Curubis, Cyprian has finally returned to his own gardens, prepared for the consummation of his anticipated martyrdom. Now, convinced that a Bishop should make his public confession of faith and die in his own city, he consents to leave once more and thus to avoid those sent to convey him for trial to the Proconsul then in Utica, determined to return to Carthage only when the Proconsul himself should return, destined to be apprehended in his gardens, and to leave them for the last time as he was led to the praetorium. Simple though his words appear on the surface, they hold a deep significance and a touch of pathos—"to leave my gardens" he says, not his home.

Seed, Root, Fruit—Metaphorical

The language of the fruitage of the earth which Christ used so often to point His teachings provided an equally rich source of figure for St. Cyprian. The watchful discipline of virgins is of exceeding worth: Strait and narrow is the way by which we go to life but supremely great is the fruit—the reward—when we attain to its glory.[209] Here and in several other excerpts, *fructus* approaches closer to its literal meaning of enjoyment than to a figurative use of the secondary meaning of fruits of the earth. From his own retreat the Bishop encourages the confessors in prison: Retaining the faith of the Hebrew youths and meditating day and night, with our whole heart turned to God and with con-

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EPISTULA 4

[209] 5.477.12 arta et angusta est uia per quam ingredimur ad uitam,
sed *summus et magnus est fructus* cum peruenimus ad gloriam.

tempt for things present, let us think only on what is to come: the fruit or enjoyment of the everlasting kingdom, the embrace and kiss of the Lord, the vision of God[210]—this seems an unusually graphic description of the *fructus regni aeterni.* His clergy in the city are warned of the need for prayer and penance in the words of the Lord to Peter: *Behold Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.*[211] Of some undisciplined confessors he wrote: I hear that some are puffed up and swollen (with pride) although it is written: *Be not highminded, but fear. For if God hath not spared the natural branches, fear lest perhaps he also spare not thee.*[212] The clergy are admonished to temper the eagerness of the lapsed to be readmitted to communion with the Church: Let no one pluck the bitter fruit at a still unseasonable time.[213] Other confessors are commended: Truly witnesses of the Gospel and truly martyrs of Christ, resting upon His roots, founded with strong foundation upon the rock, you have joined discipline with virtue; you have roused others to the fear of God; you have made your martyrdom an example.[214] Cornelius is informed: Since the

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EPISTULA 6
[210] 4.484. 3 Quam fidem nos quoque retinentes et die ac nocte meditantes
toto corde ad Deum prompti contemptu praesentium
futura tantummodo cogitemus,
fructum regni aeterni,
conplexum et osculum Domini,
conspectum Dei:

EPISTULA 11
[211] 5.499.12 *ecce satanas postulauit ut uos uexaret quomodo triticum*
(Cf. Luke 22. 31).

EPISTULA 13
[212] 4.507. 4 inflari aliquos et tumere audio, cum scriptum sit:
Noli altum sapere sed time,
si enim Dominus naturalibus ramis non pepercit,
ne forte nec tibi parcat (Cf. Rom. 11. 20,21).

EPISTULA 17
[213] 3.522.22 nemo inportuno adhuc tempore acerba poma decerpat.

EPISTULA 37
[214] 4.579. 8 uere euangelii testes et uere martyres Christi
radicibus eius innixi,
super petram robusta mole fundati,
disciplinam cum uirtute iunxistis,
ad timorem Dei ceteros prouocastis,
martyria uestra exempla fecistis.

obstinate and inflexible pertinacity of the adverse party has not only refused the bosom and embrace of its root and mother but, its discord increasing and bursting out afresh for the worse, has even appointed a bishop for itself[215] . . . we have directed our epistle to you. And again: we know that we have urged them to acknowledge and hold to the matrix and root of the Catholic Church.[216] Novatus has first sowed the flame of discord among us[217]—a mixed metaphor arising from a use of the verb with seeds of discord. . . . *Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up.* Whoever is not planted by the precepts and admonitions of God the Father, he alone will be able to withdraw from the Church.[218] Congratulating some of the clergy on their return to allegiance to Pope Cornelius: For although there seem to be cockle in the Church, nevertheless neither our faith nor our charity ought to be hindered so that when we ourselves see that there are cockle in the Church, we should withdraw from the Church. We ought only to labor that we may be grain, so that when the grain begins to be stored in the Lord's barns, we may receive a reward for our toil and our work. . . . The servant cannot be greater than his lord nor can anyone claim for himself what the father has given to his son alone, so that he may think he can take the fan for winnowing and cleansing the threshing floor or separate all the cockle from the grain by human judg-

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EPISTULA 45

[215] 1.600. 1 sed quoniam diuersae partis obstinata et inflexibilis pertinacia
non tantum *radicis* et matris sinum adque conplexum recusauit,
sed etiam gliscente et in peius recrudescente discordia
episcopum sibi constituit

EPISTULA 48

[216] 3.607. 8 nos scimus hortatos esse
ut ecclesiae catholicae matricem et *radicem* agnoscerent ac tenerent.

EPISTULA 52

[217] 2.618. 8 Nouatus . . . apud nos primum discordiae incendium ***seminauit.***

[218] 4.619.23 *omnis plantatio quam non plantauit pater meus caelestis eradicabitur* (Matt. 15. 13).
qui *plantatus* non est praeceptis Dei patris et monitis,
solus poterit de ecclesia ille discedere,

ment.[219] Concerning the lapsed: Because there is no confession in hell nor can anyone be urged to penance by us if the fruit of penance be withdrawn, we should go to their relief at the moment of death.[220] Novatian has dared to create false bishops as though he could . . . disrupt the compact structure of the body of the Church by the sowing of his own discord.[221] Then, indeed, what a swelling of arrogance is this, what forgetfulness of humility and mildness, what vaunting of his own arrogance that anyone should either dare or believe himself able to do what the Lord did not grant to the apostles, that he should think he could discern the cockle from the wheat or, as if it were granted to him to bear the fan and to cleanse the threshing floor, that he should attempt to separate the chaff from the wheat.[222] We think that no one should

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EPISTULA 54

[219] 3.622.15 Nam etsi uidentur in ecclesia esse *zizania,*
non tamen inpediri debet aut fides aut caritas nostra
ut quoniam *zizania* esse in ecclesia cernimus,
ipsi de ecclesia recedamus.
nobis tantummodo laborandum est ut *frumentum* esse possimus,
ut cum coeperit *frumentum* dominicis horreis condi,
fructum pro opere nostro et labore capiamus.
. . .
esse non potest maior domino suo seruus
nec quisquam sibi quod soli filio pater tribuit uindicare,
ut putet aut ad *aream* uentilandam et purgandam
palam iam ferre se posse
aut a *frumento uniuersa zizania* humano iudicio separare.

EPISTULA 55

[220] 17.636. 8 quia exomologesis apud inferos non est
nec ad paenitentiam quis a nobis conpelli potest,
si *fructus paenitentiae* subtrahatur.

[221] 24.642.22 creare alios pseudoepiscopos audeat (Novatianus)
quasi possit . . . ecclesiastici corporis conpaginem
discordiae suae *seminatione* rescindere,

[222] 25.643.14 Tunc deinde quantus adrogantiae tumor est,
quanta humilitatis et lenitatis obliuio,
adrogantiae suae quanta iactatio,
ut quis aut audeat aut facere posse se credat
quod nec apostolis concessit Dominus,
ut *zizania a frumento* putet se posse discernere
aut quasi ipsi palam ferre et aream purgare concessum sit,
paleas conetur a *tritico* separare,

be excluded from the fruit of satisfaction or atonement, and the hope of peace.[223] By our hardness and cruelty when the fruit of penance is intercepted repentance itself is taken away. . . . The fruit of penance must not be denied to them who grieve.[224] As to the heretics: They are not a plant planted by God the Father, whom we see not made solid with the stability of wheat, but as chaff blown about by the breath of an enemy scattering it.[225] Seducing the lapsed by the hope of easy pardon: it was not sufficient for them to depart from the Gospel; they have removed them from all the feeling of penitence and its fruit,[226] lest they make confession of their sins in the Church. If these schismatics wish to return in good faith: Let us see what feeling of amendment they have, what fruit of penance they bring. . . .[227] I beg that by the reading of my letter, if any contagion of poisonous word and plague-bearing or pestilential seed-sowing (of rumor) has crept in, this may all be removed from the ears and hearts of the brethren.[228] To Pope Lucius: Would that an opportunity were now given that we who love you with mutual charity might also receive the most joyous fruit of your arrival.[229] To the Numidian bishops: Finally we give you greatest thanks that you have wished us to be sharers in your solicitude and in so good and necessary a work (ransoming captives), that you offer us fruitful fields in which we may cast the seeds of our hope, awaiting the harvest of most abundant fruits which come forth from this celestial and salutary good work.[230]

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[223] 27.646. 4 neminem putamus a *fructu satisfactionis* et spe pacis arcendum,
[224] 29.647. 6 nostra duritia et crudelitate, dum *fructus paenitentiae* intercipitur,
paenitentia ipsa tollatur. . . .
paenitentiae fructus dolentibus non negandus.

EPISTULA 59

[225] 7.674.24 *plantationem uero plantatam* a Deo patre non esse quos uidemus
non *frumenti stabilitate* solidare,
sed tamquam *paleas* dissipantis inimici spiritu uentilari,
[226] 14.683. 1 Quibus etiam satis non fuit ab euangelio recessisse, . . .
ab omni et sensu et *fructu paenitentiae* remouisse,
[227] 16.686.10 uideamus quem habeant satisfactionis suae sensum,
quem adferant *paenitentiae fructum.*
[228] 19.689.16 (peto) ut hac epistula mea lecta, si quod illic contagium
uenenati sermonis et *pestiferae seminationis* inrepserat,
id omne de fratrum auribus et pectoribus exuatur

EPISTULA 61

[229] 4.697. 8 Adque utinam nunc facultas daretur, . . . ut qui uos mutua caritate diligimus
aduentus uestri *laetissimum fructum* . . . quoque caperemus.

Epistle 63 is addressed to a certain Caecilius, probably the Bishop of Bilta, whom we find at the council of 256. This long letter is a veritable treatise on the Eucharist. Its purpose is to combat the practice current in some African communities of consecrating water instead of wine in the Eucharistic sacrifice.[e] Naturally this letter is filled with references to water, grain and the fruit of the vine. I have judged it alike religious and necessary to write this letter to you; that, if anyone is still held in this error, having seen the light of truth he may return to the root and origin of the tradition of the Lord. . . .[231] The chalice which is offered in commemoration of Him should be offered mingled with wine. For when Christ says: *I am the true vine,* the blood of Christ is not water, certainly, but wine. . . . Noah, showing a type of future truth, drank not water but wine and thus expressed an image of the passion of the Lord. . . .[232] To this the divine Scripture adds and says: *He shall wash his robe in wine and his garment in the blood of the grape.* When, however, the blood of the grape is mentioned what else is shown but that the wine is the blood of

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EPISTULA 62

[230] 4.700.11 denique maximas uobis gratias agimus . . .
ut offerretis nobis *agros uberes,*
in quibus spei nostrae *semina* mitteremus,
expectaturi *messem* de *amplissimis fructibus*
qui de hac caelesti et salutari operatione proueniunt.

[e] Cf. Bayard, *Correspondance,* p. xxix.

EPISTULA 63

[231] 1.701.22 ad *radicem* adque originem traditionis dominicae reuertatur.

[232] 2.702. 9 calix qui in commemoratione eius offertur mixtus uino offeratur.
nam cum dicat Christus: *ego sum uitis uera*
(John 15. 1),
sanguis Christi non aqua est utique, sed *uinum.* . . .
3.702.23 Noe typum futurae ueritatis ostendens non aquam sed *uinum* biberit
et sic imaginem dominicae passionis expressit

the chalice of the Lord?[233] Furthermore, in Isaias, the Holy Spirit testifies this same thing concerning the Lord's passion saying: *Why then is thy apparel red, and thy garments as from the treading of the wine press, full and well trodden?* Could water make garments red or is there water in the wine press which is trodden by the feet or pressed out by the wine press? . . . The treading and pressure of the wine press also is touched upon repeatedly, because, as wine cannot be found for drinking unless the grape is first trodden and pressed, so neither could we drink the blood of Christ, if Christ had not first been trodden upon and pressed and first drank the chalice in which He gives drink to believers. . . .[234] For taking the chalice on the eve of His passion, He blessed and gave to His disciples, and said: . . . *And I say to you, I will not drink from henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day when I shall drink it with you new in the kingdom of my Father.* . . . How then shall we drink new wine of the fruit of the vine with Christ in the kingdom of His Father if, in the sacrifice of God the Father and of Christ, we do not offer wine nor mingle the chalice of the Lord according to the Lord's tradition? . . .[235]

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[233] 6.705. 7 quibus scriptura diuina adiungit et dicit:
lauabit in uino stolam suam et in sanguine uuae amictum suum (Cf. Gen. 49. 11).
quando autem *sanguis uuae* dicitur,
quid aliud quam uinum calicis dominici sanguis ostenditur?

[234] 7.705.11 Nec non et apud Esaiam hoc idem spiritus sanctus
de Domini passione testatur dicens:
quare rubicunda sunt uestimenta tua,
et indumenta tua uelut calcatione torcularis pleni et percalcati (Cf. Isa. 63. 2)?
numquid rubicunda uestimenta aqua potest facere
aut in *torculari* aqua est quae pedibus calcatur uel *praelo* exprimitur? . . .
torcularis quoque calcatio et pressura taxatur:
quia quomodo ad potandum uinum ueniri non potest
nisi *botruus* calcetur ante et prematur,
sic nec nos sanguinem Christi possemus bibere,
nisi Christus calcatus prius fuisset et pressus
et calicem prior biberet, quo credentibus propinaret.

[235] 9.708. 4 *non bibam amodo ex ista creatura uitis usque in diem illum*
quo uobiscum bibam nouum in regno patris mei
(Cf. Matt. 26. 29) . . .

Thus, indeed, the chalice of the Lord is not water alone or wine alone, unless each is mingled with the other; just as the body of the Lord cannot be flour alone or water alone, unless both be united and joined and solidified in the mass of one bread. In this sacrament also, our people is shown united; so that, as many grains collected and ground and mixed together make one bread, so in Christ, who is the celestial bread, we may know there is one body to which our number is joined and united.[236] To set forth the Lord's commands and not to do what He did is spiritual not material theft: stealing from evangelical truth the words and deeds of our Lord . . . as it is written in Jeremias: *What hath the chaff to do with the wheat?*[237]

To convince Florentius Puppianus that he is the lawfully appointed Bishop, Cyprian argues: The Lord, the protector and guardian of His people, would not allow the wheat to be snatched from His threshing floor, but only the chaff can be separated from the Church.[238] Pope Stephen is informed that the schismatic Marcianus is ignoring the decision of the two preceding Popes: By their letters they sealed the pronouncement that when penance has been

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quomodo autem de *creatura uitis* nouum uinum cum Christo
in regno patris bibemus,
si in sacrificio Dei patris et Christi uinum non offerimus
nec calicem Domini dominica traditione miscemus?

[236] 13.712. 2 sic uero calix Domini non est aqua sola aut uinum solum,
nisi utrumque sibi misceatur,
quomodo nec corpus Domini potest esse *farina* sola aut aqua sola,
nisi utrumque adunatum fuerit et copulatum
et panis unius conpage solidatum.
quo et ipso sacramento populus noster ostenditur adunatus,
ut quemadmodum *grana multa* in unum
collecta et conmolita et conmixta
panem unum faciunt,
sic in Christo qui est panis caelestis
unum sciamus esse corpus,
cui coniunctus sit noster numerus et adunatus.

[237] 18.715.24 *quid est,* inquit, *paleis ad triticum* (Cf. Jer. 23. 28)?

EPISTULA 66

[238] 8.732.14 nec patiatur Dominus populi sui protector et tutor
triticum de area sua diripi,
sed solae possint *paleae* de ecclesia separari,

done the fruit of communion and of peace are not to be denied.[239] Of the Church the Holy Spirit says again: *My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed.* . . . If, however, the Spouse of Christ, which is the Church is a garden enclosed, a thing which is closed can not lie open to aliens and the profane. . . .[240] For when the Lord calls His body bread made from the union of many kernels He indicates that our people which He bore is united; and when He calls His blood wine pressed out from very many clusters and grapes and formed into one, He signifies likewise that our flock is linked together from the mingling of a united multitude.[241] Proving that the Holy Spirit is not given by measure, but is poured forth entire upon the believer: . . . The sacrament of this equality we see celebrated in Exodus, when manna flowed down from heaven and, by prefiguring the future, showed forth the nourishment of celestial bread and the food of Christ who was to come. For there without distinction of sex or age a gomor was gathered by each one equally. Whence it appeared that the favor of Christ and heavenly grace would thereafter follow equally for all, divided without difference of sex, without distinction of years, without respect of persons; upon all the people of God the gift of spiritual grace is infused. . . . As in the Gospel the seed of the Lord is sown equally, but through the diversity of soil some is buried and lost; some, bringing forth fruit either thirty or sixty or a hundred fold, heaps up a varying

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EPISTULA 68

[239] 5.748.17 paenitentia acta *fructum communicationis et pacis*
negandum non esse litteris suis signauerunt.

EPISTULA 69

[240] 2.751. 2 de qua (ecclesia) item denuo dicit: *hortus conclusus soror mea sponsa* (Cant. 4. 12). . . .
si autem *hortus conclusus* est sponsa Christi quae est ecclesia,
patere res clausa alienis et profanis non potest.

[241] 5.754. 6 quando Dominus corpus suum panem uocat
de multorum granorum adunatione congestum,
populum nostrum quem portabat indicat adunatum:
et quando sanguinem suum uinum appellat
de *botruis adque acinis plurimis* expressum adque in unum coactum,
gregem item nostrum significat
commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum.

store.[242] Speaking of the schismatics Christ is quoted again saying: *He that gathereth not with me, scattereth*[243]—in this case, however, there is no indication that grain is implied. Of Novatian we read: We, however, who hold the head and root of the one Church, know for certain and are confident that no power is allowed him outside the Church. . . .[244] The Church showing forth the likeness of paradise includes within her walls fruit-bearing trees from which that which does not bring forth good fruit is cut down and cast into the fire. These trees she waters with four rivers; that is, four Gospels through which she bestows the grace of baptism through a salutary and heavenly inundation.[245] Although St. Paul bore all patiently that the sowing of the word still new and unlearned might increase through the preaching of those who spoke[246]—those were within the Church; baptism by those without the Church would be another matter. The figure of this unity we see expressed even in the Canticle of Canticles from the person of Christ saying: *My sister, my spouse, is a garden enclosed, a fountain sealed up, a well of living water, a paradise with the fruit of apples.* If however His Church is a garden enclosed and a fountain sealed up how can anyone who is not in the Church enter into this same garden or drink from His fountain?[247] Addressing the bishops and martyrs in the mines the exiled Bishop of Carthage writes: Of this number virgins are not wanting for whom the hundred-fold is added to the sixty-fold fruit and whom a double glory has brought to a heavenly crown.[248]

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[242] 14.763.23 ut in euangelio *dominicum semen* aequaliter *seminatur,*
sed pro uarietate terrae aliud absumitur,
aliud in multiformem copiam
uel *tricesimi* uel *sexagesimi* uel *centesimi* numeri
fructu exuberante cumulatur.

EPISTULA 70

[243] 3.770. 4 *qui non mecum colligit, spargit* (Cf. Luke 11. 23).

EPISTULA 73

[244] 2.779.19 nos autem qui ecclesiae unius caput et *radicem* tenemus
pro certo scimus et fidimus nihil illi extra ecclesiam licere

[245] 10.785.16 ecclesia paradisi instar exprimens
arbores frugiferas intra muros suos intus inclusit,
ex quibus quae non facit *fructum bonum* exciditur
et in ignem mittitur.
has arbores rigat quattuor fluminibus id est euangeliis
quattuor, (Cf. Gen. 3).
quibus baptismi gratiam salutari et caelesti inundatione
largitur.

[246] 14.788.18 *noua adhuc ac rudis sermonis seminatio*
loquentium praedicatione crebresceret.

Flowers, Crowns and Palms

The two contrasting concepts of the crown are found together in Epistle 10 addressed to the martyrs and confessors. The first is clearly Scriptural; the other less certainly from a purely human source, probably Minucius Felix, in the *Octavius* 38. 2-4.

This is the fight of our faith whereby we engage, whereby we conquer, whereby we are crowned. This is the contest which the blessed Apostle Paul shows us in which we must run and attain to the glory of a crown. *Know you not that they that run in the race, all run indeed, but one receiveth the palm? So run that you may obtain. And they indeed that they may receive a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible one,* and again: *I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. For the rest, there is laid up for me a crown of justice.* The fight that Mappalicus promised, he exhibited and the palm that he deserved he has received. That the others also follow I desire and as earnestly exhort that those whom the chain of confession and the sheltering closure of prison have united, the consummation of their courage

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EPISTULA 74

[247] 11.808.23 cuius unitatis sacramentum expressum uidemus
etiam in cantico canticorum ex persona Christi dicentis:
hortus conclusus, soror mea, sponsa,
fons signatus, puteus aquae uiuae,
paradisus cum fructu pomorum
(Cf. Cant. 4. 12-15).
si autem ecclesia eius *hortus conclusus* est et fons signatus,
quomodo in *eundem hortum* introire
aut bibere de fonte eius potest qui in ecclesia non est?

EPISTULA 76

[248] 6.832.18 cuius numero nec uirgines desunt,
quibus ad *sexagenarium fructum centenus* accessit
quasque ad caelestem coronam gloria gemina prouexit.

and a heavenly crown may also unite. Not such is the Lord that He merely gazes upon His servants but He Himself struggles in us, Himself engages the foe, Himself in the issue of our conflict both crowns and is crowned alike. . . .[249]

To attain the crown from Him, the testimony alone suffices of Him who is to judge hereafter. Therefore either condition, dearest brethren, is alike sublime and illustrious. The one is the more secure—to hasten to the Lord through the consummation of victory; the other is the more joyful—having received a respite, after the glory of confession to flower in the praise of the Church. O blessed Church of ours which thus the honor of divine favor illumines! which in our own times the glorious blood of martyrs makes illustrious! Before, she was white in the deeds of the brethren; now she is empurpled in the blood of the martyrs.

EPISTULA 10

[249] 4.493. 2 hic est agon fidei nostrae qua congredimur, qua uincimus, qua coronamur.
hic est agon quem nobis ostendit et beatus apostolus Paulus,
in quo oportet nos currere et ad *coronae gloriam* peruenire.
nescitis, inquit, *quia qui in stadio currunt omnes quidem currunt,*
unus tamen accipit palmam.
sic currite ut occupetis.
et illi quidem ut corruptibilem coronam accipiant,
nos autem incorruptam . . .
(Cf. 1 Cor. 9. 24,25).
bonum agonem certaui, cursum perfeci, fidem seruaui.
iam superest mihi corona iustitiae
(Cf. 2 Tim. 4. 7,8). . . .
pugnam quam (Mappalicus) spopondit exhibuit et *palmam* quam meruit accepit. . . .
ut ceteri quoque sectemini et opto pariter et exhortor,
ut quos uinculum confessionis et hospitium carceris simul iunxit
iungat etiam consummatio uirtutis et *corona caelestis,* . . .
non sic est (Dominus) ut seruos suos tantum spectet,
sed ipse luctatur in nobis,
ipse congreditur,
ipse in certamine agonis nostri et *coronat* pariter et *coronatur.* . . .

Neither lilies nor roses are wanting among her flowers. Let each vie now for the fullest dignity of either honor. Let them win their crowns either white for their good works or purple for their suffering. In the heavenly camp both peace and battle have their own flowers with which the soldier of Christ may be crowned with glory.[250]

A few other letters have slight suggestions of a crown of flowers. He who preceding in the combat became an example of valor for the brethren is united with the martyrs in honor. Thence crowns woven with your own hand you have sent hither and you have pledged your brethren in the cup of salvation[251]—it is possible that these crowns were to wreathe the cup. When in the sacrifice I make our prayer with many and when in retreat I pray in private petition, I beg the full favor of the Lord for your crowns and praises.[252] To winter the spring season succeeds joyous with roses and crowned with flowers, but for you there are roses and flowers from the delights of paradise and heavenly wreaths crown your heads[253]—here no lilies are mentioned among the blossoms for the martyrs; roses and blossoms only for the red-purple crowns of suffering. In the *De Opere et Eleemosynis* however it seems that in persecution God will add to the white crown for good works, a purple one for suffering: *in persecutione purpuream pro passione geminabit.* (Cf. 26. 394. 28.)

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[250] 5.494.19 ad *coronam* de eo promerendam sufficit ipsius testimonium solum
qui iudicaturus est.
ergo utraque res, fratres carissimi, sublimis pariter et inlustris:
illa securior ad Dominum uictoriae consummatione properare,
haec laetior accepto post gloriam commeatu in ecclesiae laude *florere.*
o beatam ecclesiam nostram quam sic honor diuinae dignationis inluminat,
quam temporibus nostris gloriosus martyrum sanguis inlustrat.
erat ante in operibus fratrum *candida:*
nunc facta est in martyrum cruore *purpurea.*
floribus eius nec lilia nec rosae desunt.
certent nunc singuli ad utriusque honoris amplissimam dignitatem.
accipiant *coronas uel de opere candidas uel de passione purpureas.*
in caelestibus castris et pax et acies habent *flores suos*
quibus miles Christi ob gloriam *coronetur.*
EPISTULA 28

[251] 1.545.13 qui in congressione praecedens exemplum uirtutis fratribus factus est,
cum martyribus in honore communis est.
coronas uestra manu *sertas* inde huc tradidistis
et de poculo salutari fratribus propinastis.

The true spiritual soldiers of God when they lay low the devil by their confession of Christ win the palms of the Lord and crowns of a glorious passion.[254] Gratitude for previous favors from God is necessary: that when the strength of the Church has been restored, the Lord may cause men so meek and humble to flower in the glory of our assembly.[255] The Church flowers, crowned with so many virgins.[256] Here the metaphorical use of flower is given a color of reality by the *coronata* entirely lacking in the superlative among other superlatives of courtesy where Pope Cornelius is assured that the Bishop knows the former always reads his letters to the most flourishing clergy presiding there with him and to the most holy and most numerous people.[257] For that it is of Him

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EPISTULA 37

[252] 1.576.15 quando in sacrificiis precem cum pluribus facimus
et cum in secessu priuatis precibus oramus,
coronis ac laudibus uestris plenam Domini fauentiam postulamus.

[253] 2.577.15 successit hiemi uerna temperies *rosis laeta et floribus coronata:*
sed uobis *rosae et flores de paradisi deliciis* aderant
et caput uestrum *serta caelestia coronabant.*

EPISTULA 39

[254] 3.583. 8 ueri et spiritales Dei milites,
dum diabolum Christi confessione prosternunt,
palmas Domini et *coronas* inlustri passione meruerunt.

EPISTULA 40

[255] 1.586.14 redintegrato ecclesiae suae robore tam mites et humiles (Dominus) faciat
in consessus nostri honore *florere.*

EPISTULA 55

[256] 20.638.14 *floret* ecclesia tot uirginibus *coronata*

EPISTULA 59

[257] 19.689.12 *florentissimo* illic clero tecum praesidenti
et sanctissimae adque amplissimae plebi legere te semper litteras nostras

that we conquer and that having subdued the adversary we attain the palm of the greatest conflict, the Lord declares and teaches in His Gospel.[258]

Unquestionably the crown of flowers was closely associated in Cyprian's mind with the thought of true merit and its reward. The verb *corono* occurs more than twenty-five times in the letters alone. In addition to the passages already cited, we read of the glory and the reward of a heavenly crown; the crown of victory of God, of justice, of life, of praise of the Lord's discipline, of his confession and of the Lord's confession, of faith, of suffering, of merits; glorious crowns, sublime crowns, corruptible and incorruptible in varied form and usage. *Palma* is quoted once from St. Paul and mentioned three times besides. The Scriptural *palma,* of course, is Cyprian's term for the prize, the *bravium* of the Vulgate.

Animals

Beasts, Birds, Fish

Apart from the flocks of the field: the sheep and lambs which symbolized the souls of men; the natural foe of sheep, the wolf; and of men, the serpent, the animal world played a comparatively unimportant part in the thought of the busy Bishop of Carthage. His language is occasionally colored by words long established in a transferred meaning, but their natural color is almost too slight to note.

The weak sex and still slippery or unstable age (of youth) ought in all things to be reined in or curbed and guided by us, their spiritual directors,[259] is found in a reply to Pomponius, Bishop of Dionysiana who had asked his counsel regarding the discipline of the Church regarding virgins. The tortured martyrs stood stronger

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EPISTULA 76

[258] 5.831.23 Ipsius enim esse quod uincimus
et quod ad maximi certaminis *palmam* subacto aduersario
peruenimus
declarat et docet Dominus in euangelio suo

EPISTULA 4

[259] 2.474. 1 sexus infirmus et aetas adhuc lubrica per omnia *frenari* a nobis
et regi debeat,

than the torturers; beating and tearing claws, martyrs' beaten and torn limbs have defeated.[260] Let them likewise follow the teachings of the apostle Paul who after oft-repeated imprisonment, after scourgings, after wild beasts, in all things persevered meek and humble.[261] Although certain letters were opposed to the newly-elected Pope Cornelius and those sitting in council with him, since they did not resound with the barkings of maledictions and wranglings they were ordered read in the African assembly.[262] Divine protection will bring it to pass that the Lord watch over His priests, in government inspiring and supplying both vigor for curbing the audacity of the wicked and the gentleness for keeping fervent the penitence of the lapsed.[263]

Only a trifle more significant are the following: By denying hope to the lapsed, the exhausted sheep, while false prophets still ravage and rend the flock of Christ, we give an opportunity to dogs and wolves that those whom the fierce persecution has not destroyed, we may destroy by our hardness and inhumanity[264]—it would seem that sheep-killers were well known if not sheep dogs. In time of persecution if a wild beast has attacked a man fleeing in the mountains, Christ still sees His soldier.[265] Quoting the Apocalypse: *If*

EPISTULA 10

[260] 2.491.13 steterunt torti torquentibus fortiores
et *pulsantes ac laniantes ungulas*
pulsata ac laniata membra uicerunt.

EPISTULA 14

[261] 2.511.16 item Pauli apostoli documenta sectentur,
qui post carcerem saepe repetitum, post flagella, post *bestias,*
circa omnia mitis et humilis perseuerauit,

EPISTULA 45

[262] 2.602. 2 maledictorum et conuiciorum *latratibus* perstrepebant.

EPISTULA 48

[263] 4.608. 7 perficiet diuina protectio, ut Dominus sacerdotes . . . tueatur,
gubernanter inspirans ac subministrans
et ad inproborum contumaciam *frenandam* uigorem
et ad lapsorum fouendam paenitentiam lenitatem.

EPISTULA 55

[264] 15.634.18 occasionem *canibus* et *lupis* demus
ut quos persecutio infesta non perdidit
eos nos duritia nostra et inhumanitate perdamus.

EPISTULA 58

[265] 4.659.23 si fugientem . . . *fera* inuaserit, . . . spectat militem suum
Christus

anyone adore the beast . . . he shall also drink of the wine of the wrath of God . . . neither have they rest day nor night whoever adores the beast.[266]

To Pope Cornelius: There must remain in us, dearest brother, the immovable strength of faith, stable and unshaken courage against all the assaults and attacks of barking waves.[267] And again: *And fear not the words of a sinful man, for his glory is dung and worms.*[268] If all acknowledged Christ's choice in His representative on earth no one would rend asunder the Church of Christ by a division of its unity . . . unless such a one would think that a priest is made without the judgment of God: although the Lord says in His Gospel: *Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and not one of them shall fall on the ground without your Father.*[269]

The tremendous impact of the cry "to the lion" on Cyprian's life can be estimated from the care with which he elaborated this passage in a letter to Pope Cornelius justifying his withdrawal from the city: But—I speak on provocation, I speak in grief, I speak under compulsion—when a Bishop is put in the place of one deceased, when in time of peace he is chosen by the suffrage of a whole people, when in persecution he is protected by the aid of God, faithfully united to all his colleagues, approved in his episcopacy by his people for four years now, in quiet serving discipline, in tempest proscribed, the name of his episcopate added and involved, so often sought for the lion in the circus, in the amphitheater honored by the testimony of the Lord's favor, even in these very days demanded anew for the lion by the clamor of the populace in the circus, then it is clear who impugns him; not Christ certainly, but he who is an adversary of Christ persecutes His ministers.[270]

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[266] 7.663. 5 *si quis adorat bestiam . . . bibet et ipse de uino irae Dei . . .*
nec habebunt requiem die ac nocte quicumque adorat bestiam
(Cf. Apoc. 14. 9-11).

EPISTULA 59

[267] 2.667.22 manere apud nos debet, frater carissime (Cornelius),
fidei robur inmobile et stabilis adque inconcussa uirtus
contra omnes incursus adque inpetus *oblatrantium* fluctuum
uelut petrae obiacentis fortitudine et mole debet obsistere.

[268] 3.669. 3 *uerba uiri peccatoris ne timueritis,*
quia gloria eius in stercora erit et in uermes
(Cf. 1 Macc. 2. 62).

[269] 5.672. 7 nemo discidio unitatis Christi ecclesiam scinderet, . . .
cum Dominus in euangelio suo dicat: *nonne duo passeres asse ueneunt*
et neuter eorum cadit in terram sine patris uoluntate
(Cf. Matt. 10. 29)?

In the arrest of Cornelius, the Bishop of Rome, in order to disrupt the entire Church, the adversary having attacked one first had attempted as a wolf, to isolate or detach a sheep from the flock, as a hawk to separate a dove from the flight; for he who has not sufficient strength against all seeks to encompass the solitariness of each one alone.[271] To solace those disturbed at losing the crown of martyrdom: For there was no less glory of martyrdom in the three youths because, death frustrated, they went forth unharmed from the furnace of fire, nor did Daniel, who had been cast to the lions as prey, stand less perfect in his praises because protected by God, he lived on for His glory.[272] Citing the prefigurations of Christ and of the sacrament of His passion: In the blessing of Juda also this same is signified, where a figure of Christ is expressed there also that He Himself is the lion of the tribe of Juda and He should couch sleeping in His passion, and should rise and be Himself the hope of the nations.[273] Again quoting Minucius Felix, in the *Octavius* 18. 7, Florentius Puppianus is castigated for continued aspersions on his episcopate: Bees have a king, and cattle a leader, and they keep faith with him; robbers obey their chief with a compliance full of humility. How much more simple and better than you, are brute beasts, and dumb animals, and robbers, although bloody and raging among swords and weapons.[274] Moreover that the Church is one, the Holy Spirit in the person of Christ declares in the Canticle of Canticles saying: *One is my dove, my perfect one is but one, she is the only one of her mother, the chosen of her that bore her.*[275] When the man of

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[270] 6.673. 7 Ceterum—dico enim prouocatus, dico dolens, dico conpulsus—
quando episcopus in locum defuncti substituitur,
quando populi uniuersi suffragio in pace deligitur,
quando Dei auxilio in persecutione protegitur,
collegis omnibus fideliter iunctus,
plebi suae in episcopatu quadriennio iam probatus,
in quiete seruiens disciplinae,
in tempestate proscriptus,
adplicito et adiuncto episcopatus sui nomine,
totiens ad *leonem* petitus in circo,
in amphitheatro
dominicae dignationis testimonio honoratus,
his ipsis etiam diebus . . .
clamore popularium ad *leonem* denuo postulatus in circo: . . .
apparet quis inpugnet, non scilicet Christus . . .
sed ille qui Christo aduersarius . . .
persequitur

EPISTULA 60

[271] 2.692.22 unum primo adgressus (aduersarius)
ut *lupus ouem* secernere a *grege,*
ut *acceptor columbam* ab *agmine uolantium* separare temptauerat.
nam cui non est aduersus omnes satis uirium,
circumuenire quaerit solitudinem singulorum

EPISTULA 61

[272] 2.695.22 Neque enim in tribus pueris minor fuit martyrii dignitas,
quia morte frustrata de camino ignis incolumes exierunt
aut non consummatus Daniel extitit in suis laudibus,
quia qui *leonibus* missus fuerat ad praedam,
protectus a Dominio uixit ad gloriam.

EPISTULA 63

[273] 6.705. 1 In benedictione quoque Iudae hoc idem significatur,
ubi et illic Christi figura exprimitur, . . .
quod ipse sit *leo* de tribu Iuda
et recubet dormiens in passione
et surgat et sit ipse spes gentium.

EPISTULA 66

[274] 6.730.23 *Apes* habent regem et ducem *pecudes* et fidem seruant:
latrones mancipi obsequio pleno humilitatis obtemperant.
quanto simpliciores et meliores uobis sunt *brutae pecudes* et *muta animalia*
et cruenti licet ac furentes inter gladios adque inter arma praedones!

EPISTULA 69

[275] 2.750.22 Quod ecclesia una sit declarat in cantico canticorum
spiritus sanctus ex persona Christi dicens:
una est columba mea, perfecta mea,
una est matri suae, electa genetrici suae
(Cant. 6. 8).

God, sent to reproach Jeroboam for his schism of the nation, had dined with him against the command of God, he was slain on his way as he returned by the fury and jaws of a lion.[276] There is no cause for concern because Novatians rebaptize their schismatic recruits: For Novatian, after the fashion of apes which although they are not men, nevertheless imitate human (actions), wishes to claim the authority and truth of the Catholic Church for himself.[277]

Flocks: Sheep, Lambs, Wolf—Metaphorical

The tender and selfless solicitude of Christ for the soul nowhere appears under a more appealing guise than that of the Good Shepherd, and in His search for a lost sheep. The persistence and effectiveness of this figure needs no proof, yet there is interest in the frequency and variety with which the Bishop of Carthage resorted to its use. It could scarcely be mere coincidence, however, that while he suggests his own anxious and loving care for his people by these familiar terms of shepherd and flock, with a keen knowledge of human nature he rarely fails, almost in the same breath, to stimulate them to courage and valiant spiritual combat as soldiers of Christ battling against His powerful foe. Real Christians are thus encouraged not to be stupid, unthinking, helpless sheep. In his letters to the popes or his fellow bishops in Africa, this latter practice is less necessary and consequently less frequent.

From Jeremias we read God's promise to give His people shepherds according to His own heart who will feed them with discipline.[278] From his retreat the Bishop admonishes his priests:

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[276] 6.755.10 cum (homo Dei) contra praeceptum Dei prandisset . . .
regrediens inpetu ac *morsu leonis* in itinere necaretur

EPISTULA 73

[277] 2.779.13 nam Nouatianus *simiarum* more,
quae cum homines non sint humana imitentur,
uult ecclesiae catholicae auctoritatem sibi et ueritatem uindicare,

EPISTULA 4

[278] 1.473.10 *et dabo uobis pastores secundum cor meum,*
et pascent uos, pascentes cum disciplina (Cf. Jer. 3. 15).

It must be known and confessed that stormy devastation of this affliction which has ravaged our flock in a very great measure, and is still ravaging it, has come according to our sins, inasmuch as we do not keep the way of the Lord.[279] Greeting Rogatianus and the other confessors: What greater or better thing can be in my prayer than that I see the flock of Christ illumined by the glory of your confession?[280] Yet these same confessors who were high-minded and arrogant are reprimanded in the words of Isaias: Our Lord *as a sheep was led to the slaughter, and as a lamb before the shearer he was dumb so he opened not his mouth.*[281] The priests and deacons are carefully instructed in their charge: Meanwhile let care be taken of the poor as much as and in whatever way possible, especially of those who, standing with unshaken faith, have not left the flock of Christ.[282] Certain priests, anticipating action of the Bishop, had readmitted the lapsed to communion: To the lapsed indeed pardon can be granted in this. For who would not hasten to be vivified if he were dead? Who would not make haste to come to his own salvation? But it is the duty of those placed over them to maintain the precept, and to instruct those either hasty or ignorant, lest those who ought to be shepherds of the sheep become their butchers.[283] Our priests and deacons indeed ought to have counseled our people that they might cherish

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EPISTULA 11

[279] 1.495.16 confitendum est pressurae istius tam turbidam uastitatem
quae *gregem* nostrum maxima ex parte populata est
et adhuc usque populatur secundum peccata nostra

EPISTULA 13

[280] 1.504.18 quid enim uel maius in uotis meis potest esse uel melius quam
cum uideo confessionis uestrae honore inluminatum *gregem*
Christi?

[281] 4.507. 7 Dominus noster *sicut ouis ad uictimam adductus est*
et sicut agnus coram tondente sine uoce
sic non aperuit os suum (Cf. Isa. 53. 7).

EPISTULA 14

[282] 2.510.17 inconcussa fide stantes *gregem Christi* non reliquerunt

EPISTULA 15

[283] 2.514.18 sed praepositorum est praeceptum tenere
et uel properantes uel ignorantes instruere
ne qui *ouium* pastores esse debent lanii fiant.

the sheep entrusted to them and instruct them by the divine ministry in the way of praying for salvation.[284] I have been deeply grieved, dearest brethren, . . . that although I have always proposed to myself and wished to keep our whole brotherhood safe and to preserve the entire flock unharmed, as charity demands, you now announce that Felicissimus . . . had tried to separate the sheep from the shepherd.[285] The recently elected Pope Cornelius troubled by the schism of Novatian in Rome is encouraged: For this we especially labor and ought to labor, as far as in us lies, to gather into the Church the bleating and wandering sheep which the stubborn faction and heretical temptation of some is separating from their mother.[286] Those who were wavering in their allegiance in favor of Felicissimus are told of their rightful Bishop's sad regret: It is neither right nor permitted to be done that another church be established, that the members of Christ be scattered, that the one mind and one body of the flock of the Lord be wounded by sundering rivalry.[287] And think not that thus you defend the Gospel of Christ when you separate yourselves from the flock of Christ and from peace and concord.[288] Antonian, disturbed even in his renewed allegiance to Cornelius by Novatian's condemnation

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EPISTULA 17

[284] 2.522.14 quod quidem nostros presbyteri et diaconi monere debuerant,
ut commendatas sibi oues fouerent

EPISTULA 41

[285] 1.587. 5 cum mihi propositum semper et uotum sit . . .
inlibatum *gregem* secundum quod caritas exigit reseruare,
nunc nuntietis Felicissimum . . . a pastore *oues* separare

EPISTULA 45

[286] 3.602.20 quod in nobis est *balabundas et errantes oues,*
quas . . . peruicax factio
et haeretica temptatio a matre secernit,
in ecclesia colligamus,

EPISTULA 46

[287] 1.604.12 nec fas est nec licet fieri, ecclesiam alteram institui,
Christi membra discerpi,
dominici gregis animum et corpus unum discissa aemulatione
lacerari.

[288] 2.605. 1 Nec putetis sic uos euangelium Christi adserere,
dum uosmet ipsos a *Christi grege*
et ab eius pace . . . separatis,

of the more lenient policy toward the lapsed, is reassured by the example of Christ: And it will be ascribed to us in the day of judgment that we have not cared for the wounded sheep and that because of one wounded sheep we have lost many sound ones and while the Lord, leaving the ninety-nine safe, sought the one wandering and weary, and having found it carried it on His shoulders, we not only do not seek the weary but even drive them off when they come; and while false prophets do not cease now to ravage and wound the flock of Christ, we give an opportunity to dogs and wolves that those whom hostile persecution has not destroyed we may destroy by our harshness and inhumanity.[289] The North African practice regarding the lapsed is reported to Pope Cornelius: The sheep should not be deserted by their shepherds in danger; but the whole flock should be gathered together into one place and the army of the Lord armed for the strife of heavenly warfare.[290] Will not sluggish negligence or cruel hardness be ascribed to us in the day of judgment; because as shepherds we wished neither to care for the sheep entrusted and committed to us in peace nor to arm in battle?[291] Quoting a long passage from Ezechial 34, he asks: Will it not be brought against us by the

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EPISTULA 55

[289] 15.634.12 et adscribetur nobis in die iudicii nec *ouem sauciam* curasse
et propter unam sauciam multas integras perdidisse:
et cum Dominus relictis nonaginta nouem sanis
unam errantem et lassam quaesierit
et inuentam umeris suis ipse portauerit,
nos non tantum non quaeramus lassos,
sed et uenientes arceamus,
et cum pseudoprophetae *gregem Christi*
nunc uastare et lacerare non desinant,
occasionem *canibus et lupis* demus
ut, quos persecutio infesta non perdidit,
eos nos duritia nostra et inhumanitate
perdamus.

EPISTULA 57

[290] 2.651.18 a pastoribus *oues* in periculum non deserantur,
sed *grex omnis* in unum congregetur
et exercitus Domini ad certamen militiae caelestis armetur.

[291] 4.654. 8 pastores creditas et commissas nobis *oues*
nec curare in pace nec in acie uoluerimus armare?

Lord what he cries out and says through this prophet: *You eat the milk and you clothe yourselves with the wool, and what is fat you kill: and my sheep you do not feed. What is weakened you have not strengthened and that which was sick you have not healed. . . . And my sheep were scattered, because there are no shepherds: and they become the prey to all the beasts of the field, and there was none that sought them, none that called them back. Therefore thus saith the Lord: Behold I come upon the shepherds, I will cause them to cease from feeding my sheep any more, neither shall they feed them any more, and I will deliver my sheep from their mouth and I will feed them with judgment.* In conclusion: Lest therefore the sheep entrusted to us be demanded again . . . it has seemed best to us to grant peace to the lapsed.[292] When another persecution is imminent the courage of the people at Thibaris is renewed: Wherever in those days one of the brethren shall be separated from the flock by the necessity of the time, in body but not in spirit, let him not be disturbed at the horror of that flight, or, if he withdraw and hide, let him not be terrified at the solitude of the desert place.[293] He is not alone, who has Christ as his companion in flight. Pope Cornelius is informed of the false charges of the pseudo-bishop Felicissimus: Since a portion of the flock has been assigned to each shepherd which each one is to guide and govern,[294] he shall render an account of his action to the Lord. Nor is that pastor useful or wise who so mingles diseased and infected sheep with his flock so as to contaminate the whole flock with the affliction of clinging evil.[295] In arresting the Pope first: the adversary, first assailing one, attempted as a wolf to separate a sheep from the flock.[296] To Pope Lucius: We congratulate you on what the benignant and abounding protection of the Lord has done that so the shepherd might be restored to feed his flock, the pilot to guide his ship, the ruler to rule the people.[297] Now we understand whence that unexpected persecution arose recently that for the confounding and beating down of heretics the Lord might show which is the united and true people of Christ, bound by the charity of the Lord's flock.[298] Quite different is the concept of the Lamb in the Apocalypse: *If anyone adore the beast he will be punished with fire and sulphur under the eyes of the angels and under the eyes of the Lamb.*[299] Florentius Puppianus is told satirically that if Cyprian be not the legitimate Bishop: Lo, already for six years, the brotherhood has had no bishop, nor the people a prelate, nor the flock a shepherd, nor the Church a pilot, nor Christ a vicar, nor God a priest.[300] The Church however has not departed from Christ and they are the Church—a people united to a priest, a flock

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[292] 5.655. 5 Ne igitur . . . *oues* nobis commissae a Domino reposcantur,
placuit nobis . . . pacem lapsis dare,

EPISTULA 58

[293] 4.659.17 ubicumque in illis diebus unusquisque fratrum fuerit
a *grege* . . . necessitate temporis corpore non spiritu separatus,
non moueatur ad fugae illius horrorem
nec recedens et latens deserti loci solitudine terreatur.

EPISTULA 59

[294] 14.683.19 singulis pastoribus portio *gregis* sit adscripta quam regat

[295] 15.684.24 nec utilis aut consultus est pastor
qui ita *morbidas et contactas oues gregi* admiscet
ut *gregem totum* mali cohaerentis adflictatione contaminet.

EPISTULA 60
[296] 2.692.22 aduersarius . . . unum primo adgressus
ut *lupus ouem* secernere a *grege,* . . . temptauerat.

EPISTULA 61
[297] 1.695.17 tibi gratulamur quod fecerit benigna Domini et larga protectio,
ut pascendo *gregi* pastor
et gubernandae naui gubernator
et plebi regendae rector redderetur
[298] 3.696.20 Intellegimus . . . unde illic repentina persecutio nuper exorta sit
ut ad confundendos haereticos et retundendos ostenderet Dominus . . .
quis adunatus et uerus Christi populus
dominici gregis caritate conexus,

EPISTULA 65
[299] 1.722.17 *si quis adorat bestiam . . . punietur igne et sulphure*
sub oculis sanctorum angelorum et sub oculis agni
(Cf. Apoc. 14. 9,10).

EPISTULA 66
[300] 5.730. 9 ecce iam sex annis nec fraternitas habuerit episcopum
nec plebs praepositum
nec *grex* pastorem
nec ecclesia gubernatorem
nec Christus antistitem
nec Deus sacerdotem.

clinging to a shepherd.[301] To Pope Stephen he writes: By excommunicating Marcianus, who holds that the lapsed are to be cast out as the prey of wolves,[302] and making way for the substitution of another, let the flock of Christ be gathered together which to this day, scattered and wounded by Marcianus, is despised. . . . If any one of our college should attempt to cause a heresy, to lacerate and to lay waste the flock of Christ, the others may help and as useful and merciful shepherds gather the Lord's sheep into the flock.[303] For what is a greater or better care of those placed in charge than with diligent solicitude and health-giving medicine to provide for cherishing and preserving the sheep. Since, therefore, the Lord thus threatens those shepherds by whom the Lord's sheep are neglected and perish, what else ought we do, dearest brother, but to exhibit full diligence in collecting and cherishing the sheep of Christ, and to apply the medicine of paternal devotion to curing the wounds of the lapsed. For although we are many shepherds, we nevertheless feed one flock, and we ought to gather and cherish all the sheep which Christ sought by His blood and His passion.[304]

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[301] 8.733. 3 ecclesia tamen a Christo non recedit, et illi sunt ecclesia
plebs sacerdoti adunata et pastori suo *grex* adhaerens.

EPISTULA 68

[302] 1.744.13 (lapsi) ad *luporum* rapinam et praedam diaboli proiciantur.

[303] 3.745.22 *grex Christi,* qui in hodiernum ab illo (Marciano)
dissipatus et uulneratus contemnitur, colligatur. . . .
si quis ex collegio nostro haeresin facere
et *gregem Christi* lacerare et uastare temptauerit,
subueniant ceteri,
et qua pastores utiles et misericordes *oues dominicas*
in *gregem* colligant.

[304] 4.746.23 Quae est enim maior aut melior cura praepositorum
quam diligenti sollicitudine et medella salubri
fouendis et conseruandis *ouibus* prouidere, . . .
cum ergo pastoribus talibus
per quos *dominicae oues* necleguntur . . .
sic Dominus comminetur,
quid nos aliud facere oportet, frater carissime,
quam colligendis et refouendis *Christi ouibus*
exhibere diligentiam plenam . . .
nam etsi pastores multi sumus,
unum tamen *gregem* pascimus,
et *oues uniuersas* quas Christus sanguine suo et passione quaesiuit
colligere et fouere debemus

Christ shows that those who scatter His flock, since they do not gather with Him are adversaries.[305] Moreover the faith of the Sacred Scriptures makes clear that the Church is not without, nor can it be severed or divided against itself, but it maintains the unity of an inseparable and undivided house when it is written concerning the sacrament of the pasch and of the lamb, which lamb designated Christ: *In one house shall it be eaten.*[306] Unity is of divine authority: And therefore the Lord, says: *And there shall be one flock and one shepherd.* If, therefore, the flock is one, how can he be numbered in the flock who is not in the number of the flock. . . . And when He calls wine pressed from many grapes and clusters and gathered into one His blood, He signifies our flock likewise joined together by the mingling of the united multitude.[307] This custom is observed in regard to those who are known to have been baptized and gone over from us to heretics: if afterward, having realized their sin and putting aside their error, they return to the truth and to their mother, it is enough to impose the hand for penitence that, since he had already been a sheep, the shepherd should take the estranged and wandering sheep back into his sheepfold. If, however, anyone comes from the heretics . . . he is to be baptized that he may become a sheep since there is the one water in the holy Church which makes sheep.[308] Similarly Pompeius is

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EPISTULA 69

[305] 1.749.18 secum non colligentes *gregem* suum spargerent aduersarios esse
ostendit (Christus)

[306] 4.752.20 de sacramento paschae et *agni* qui *agnus* Christum designabat
scriptum est: *in domo una comedetur* (Cf. Ex. 12. 46),

[307] 5.753.15 Et idcirco Dominus . . . dicit: *et erit unus grex et unus pastor*
(Cf. John 10. 16).
si autem *grex* unus est, quomodo potest *gregi* adnumerari
qui in numero *gregis* non est. . . .
gregem item nostrum significat
commixtione adunatae multitudinis copulatum.

EPISTULA 71

[308] 2.772.22 si postmodum peccato suo cognito et errore digesto
ad ueritatem et matricem redeant,
satis sit in paenitentia manum inponere,
ut quia *ouis* iam fuerat,
hanc ouem abigeiatam et errabundam
in *ouile* suum pastor recipiat.
si autem qui ab haereticis uenit . . . baptizandus est ut *ouis* fiat,
quia una est aqua in ecclesia sancta quae *oues* faciat.

instructed: For the former when they return having performed their penance ought to be received by imposition of hands alone and restored by the shepherd to the fold whence they had wandered.[309] The martyrs in the mines are assured: While the flock follows its shepherds[310] it will be crowned with them, and again: Among children also a courage greater than their age transcends their years with the honor of their confession so that every sex and age should adorn the blessed flock of your martyrdom.[311]

Of the various descriptive terms for the sheep or flocks, *balabundas et errantes oues* will be discussed further under sound. The lost sheep of the parable is not only lost but wounded (*sauciam*), while the others are sound (*integras*); and leaving the sound, *sanis* here, he seeks the straying and weary sheep (*errantem et lassam*), and carries it home. As in the *De Habitu Virginum, morbidas et contactas oues* are left to mingle with the flock and contaminate the rest only by a useless and ill-advised shepherd. More noteworthy still is the verb coined to describe the sheep, lured or driven away from the flock by the cattle thief, actually the heretic, *ouem abigeiatam et errabundam*. Here *abigeio* is obviously formed from the noun *abigeus,* the cattle thief from *abigo*. The real malice and dishonesty of the act is thus subtlely intensified, and the authority and right of possession of the true shepherd established.

Serpents and Poison

In the letters as in the treatises the devil is frequently spoken of as a serpent; his promptings and their fruits are venomous. Although in prison the feet of the confessor Celerinus were bound

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EPISTULA 74

[309] 12.809.19 hos enim oportet cum redeunt acta paenitentia
per manus inpositionem solam recipi
et in *ouile* unde errauerant a pastore restitui.

EPISTULA 76

[310] 1.828.25 *grex* pastores suos sequitur

[311] 6.832.20 in pueris quoque uirtus maior aetate annos suos
confessionis laude transcendit,
ut martyrii uestri beatum *gregem* et sexus et aetas omnis
ornaret.

with fetters, the helmed serpent has been both trampled on and conquered.[312] Except in the letter to the martyr where there is always less restraint, the epithet *galeatus* applied to *serpens* would be questioned. Watson indeed thinks the alternative reading *calcatus* more probably correct, in which case he would number the passage among the illustrations of three-word groups: *calcatus et obtritus et victus.*[f] Retaining their ancient venom against his episcopate the faction of Felicissimus renews its old attack[313] and has now turned itself also to the destruction of the lapsed by its envenomed deception;[314] the latter are advised not to trust these destructive voices rashly lest they mistake the poison for a remedy and death for salvation.[315] They are cautioned to avoid the envenomed tongue of the devil who from the beginning of the world, deceitful ever and lying, lies to deceive, flatters to harm, proffers good to give evil, promises life to kill. Now also his words are clear as light and his venom manifest[316]—a vivid description of the tactics of the serpent with his venomous tongue, artistic in balance and rime. Of a real serpent—the Scripture, in order to prove the paternal love of God, questions whether a father would give a serpent to his son who had asked for fish.[317] We should let our

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EPISTULA 39

[312] 2.582.21 et quamuis ligati neruo pedes essent,
galeatus serpens et obtritus et uictus est.

[f] Cf. Watson, p. 213, note 1.

EPISTULA 43

[313] 1.591. 9 *antiqua . . . uenena* retinentes instaurant ueterem contra nos
inpugnationem

[314] 2.591.25 (Felicissimi factio) nunc se et ad lapsorum perniciem
uenenata sua deceptione uerterunt,

[315] 4.593.19 (consulo ne perniciosis uocibus temere credatis, ne) . . .
uenenum pro remedio, mortem pro salute sumatis.

[316] 6.596. 3 uitate *linguam diaboli uenenatam* qui ab initio mundi
fallax semper et mendax mentitur ut fallat,
blanditur ut noceat,
bona promittit ut malum tribuat,
uitam pollicetur ut perimat.
lucent nunc quoque uerba eius et uenena manifesta sunt.

EPISTULA 55

[317] 23.641. 1 *si piscem postulauerit, serpentem illi porrigat*
(Cf. Matt. 7. 10)?

feet be shod with the teaching of the Gospel and armed, so that when the serpent is trodden by us and crushed, he may not be able to bite and trip us.[318] Gentiles and Jews threaten us, and heretics and all whose hearts and minds the devil besets, daily attest his envenomed madness with furious voice.[319] From his mouth and his words is each betrayed and whether he has Christ in his heart or indeed antichrist is detected in his speaking, according to what the Lord says in His Gospel: *O generation of vipers, how can you speak good things, whereas you are evil? for out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.*[320] Yet the brotherhood cannot be won nor deceived by the poisons of heretics.[321] His tongue clamoring unto the ruin of the brethren and hurling venomous darts of eloquence, Novatian wounds himself and his own associates.[322] The assumption that the phrase *faucibus diaboli* represents the devil in his usual form of serpent justifies the inclusion of a touching passage showing how vital a part the doctrine of the Mystical Body played in the early Church. In reply to a request for alms toward the ransom of the Numidian captives the

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EPISTULA 58

[318] 9.664.19 calciati sint euangelico magisterio et armati pedes,
ut cum *serpens* calcari a nobis et obteri coeperit,
mordere et subplantare non possit.

EPISTULA 59

[319] 2.667.17 nam et gentiles et Iudaei minantur
et haeretici adque omnes
quorum pectora et mentes diabolus obsedit
uenenatam rabiem suam cotidie furiosa uoce testantur.

[320] 3.669.22 de ore itaque ac de uerbis suis unusquisque statim proditur,
et utrum Christum in corde suo an uero antichristum habeat,
loquendo detegitur, secundum quod Dominus in euangelio suo dicit:
progenies uiperarum, quomodo potestis bona loqui, cum sitis nequam?
de abundantia enim cordis os emittit
(Cf. Matt. 12. 34).

[321] 20.690. 6 sciam fraternitatem . . . nec capi *haereticorum uenenis* posse nec decipi

EPISTULA 60

[322] 3.694. 1 in perniciem fratrum lingua sua perstrepens
et facundiae *uenenatae iacula* contorquens (suos uulnerat)

Bishop sends large and generously contributed funds expressing his gratitude for the opportunity of sharing in the work of charity: In our captive brethren Christ is to be contemplated and He is to be redeemed from the peril of captivity who redeemed us from peril of death, so that He who rescued us from the jaws of the devil and now remains and abides in us may be rescued from the hands of the barbarians, and that He may be redeemed by a sum of money who redeemed us by His cross and blood.[323] To Florentius Puppianus he indignantly asserts the falsity of certain vile charges against him: as if among the lapsed, the profane and those removed outside the Church from whose hearts the Holy Spirit had withdrawn, there could be other than a depraved mind, a deceiving tongue, envenomed hatreds and sacrilegious falsehoods.[324] He who wonders that those baptized in sickness may still be tried by unclean spirits should know that the pertinacious wickedness of the devil has power even to the saving water; in baptism, however, he loses all the virus of his wickedness . . . for if scorpions and serpents which prevail on dry land can prevail and retain their venom when cast into the water, evil spirits also, which are called scorpions and serpents, even though they are trodden under foot by us through the power given by God, still remain in the body of a man in whom when he is baptized and sanctified, the Holy Spirit begins to dwell.[325] If other plagues and swords of heretics

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EPISTULA 62

[323] 3.699.10 in captiuis fratribus nostris contemplandus est Christus
et redimendus de periculo captiuitatis,
qui nos redemit de periculo mortis,
ut qui nos de *diaboli faucibus* exuit
nunc ipse qui manet et habitat in nobis
de barbarorum manibus exuatur
et redimatur nummaria quantitate
qui nos cruce redemit et sanguine:

EPISTULA 66

[324] 2.728. 2 quasi apud lapsos et profanos et extra ecclesiam positos,
de quorum pectoribus excesserit spiritus sanctus,
esse aliud possit nisi mens praua et fallax lingua
et odia *uenenata* et sacrilega mendacia:

EPISTULA 69

[325] 15.764. 2 sciat diaboli nequitiam pertinacem usque ad aquam salutarem
ualere,
in baptismo uero *omne nequitiae suae uirus* amittere. . . .

and poisons for subverting truth confess the same Father, Son and Spirit, there can be one baptism there also, if there is also one faith.[326] For since they say their speech creeps as a cancer, how can this speech which creeps as a cancer to the ears of its hearers give remission of sins?[327] The last excerpt in this group written in indignant and satiric mood contains an unusual phrase with *serpentinis,* an original word. Rightly also thus day after day schisms and heretics arise, more frequently and more luxuriantly they grow, springing forth with serpentine locks with greater strength they dart forth against the Church of God the poison of their venoms.[328]

Both in thought and word Cyprian's symbolic use of the serpent and his venom was to be strongly impressed on the language of his literary successors.[g]

Color

Few though the allusions to color in the letters may be, one at least is significant. The Church hitherto dazzling white in the good

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nam si *scorpii et serpentes* qui in sicco praeualent,
in aquam praecipitati praeualere possunt aut *sua uenena* retinere,
possunt et spiritus nequam qui *scorpii et serpentes* appellantur
et tamen per nos data a Domino potestate calcantur,
permanere ultra in hominis corpore,
in quo baptizato et sanctificato
incipit spiritus sanctus habitare.

EPISTULA 73

[326] 4.781.14 si ceterae haereticorum pestes et gladii
ac *uenena subuertendae ueritatis* (eundem patrem confitentur)
potest illic et baptisma unum esse, si est et fides una.

[327] 15.789. 7 nam cum dicant sermonem eorum ut cancer *serpere,*
quomodo potest is sermo dare remissam peccatorum
qui ut cancer *serpit* ad aures audientium?

EPISTULA 74

[328] 8.806. 8 merito et sic in dies singulos schismata et haeresis surgunt,
crebrius adque uberius excrescunt,
ut *serpentinis crinibus pullulantes* aduersus ecclesiam Dei
maioribus uiribus *uenenorum suorum uirus* expromunt,

[g] Cf. Koch, "La sopravvivenza de Cipriano nell'antica letteratura cristiana," *Ricerche Religiose,* IX (1933), pp. 503 ff.

works of the brethren now has become empurpled in the blood of martyrs. . . . Let all win their crowns; white for good deeds or purple for suffering[329]—this idea has already been noted in *De Opere et Eleemosynis* which was written during the pestilence some time later. Obviously since *erubesco* was not uncommon in Classical Latin, not only in the Church but even in the sophisticated Roman Empire cheeks were wont to redden with shame: Admonishing the confessors to remain worthy of their honor the absent Bishop writes: For he is in the end a glorious and true confessor for whom subsequently the Church does not blush, but glories.[330] Discipline must be carefully maintained: lest even among the very gentiles our Church may begin to blush.[331] By way of contrast the martyrs are assured that the brightness of Christ has made radiant the shadows of their place of punishment with that eternal and gleaming white light.[332] The schismatic clergy who promised easy pardon to the lapsed: corrupt the penitence of the unhappy men by the deception of their lies lest satisfaction be given an angry God, lest he who before either blushed or feared to be a Christian may presently seek Christ his Lord.[333] As to the question whether it is water alone or water and wine in the chalice: In Isaias also the Holy Spirit bears witness to this same thing

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EPISTULA 10
[329] 5.495. 1 erat (ecclesia) ante in operibus fratrum *candida:*
nunc facta est in martyrum cruore *purpurea*. . . .
accipiant coronas uel de opere *candidas*
uel de passione *purpureas*.

EPISTULA 14
[330] 3.512.14 is enim demum confessor inlustris et uerus est
de quo postmodum non *erubescit* ecclesia sed gloriatur.

EPISTULA 15
[331] 3.515.14 apud gentiles quoque ipsos ecclesia nostra *erubescere* incipiat.

EPISTULA 37
[332] 2.577.12 paenalis loci tenebras aeterna illa et *candida luce* radiauit.

EPISTULA 59
[333] 13.680.17 miserorum paenitentiam mendaciorum suorum fraude corrumpunt,
ne Deo indignanti satisfiat,
ne Christum Dominum suum
qui christianus esse uel *erubuit* ante uel timuit postmodum quaerat,

that the blood of grapes refers to wine of the chalice of the Blood of the Lord, saying: *Why are thy garments red and thy apparel as from treading in the full and well-trodden wine press?* Can water make garments red or is there water in the vat which is trodden with the feet or pressed by a beam?[334] Cyprian's text here differs greatly from the Vulgate: *Quare ergo rubrum est indumentum tuum, et vestimenta tua sicut calcantium in torculari?* His red is *rubicundus* instead of *ruber.* Finally he asks: How can we pour forth our blood for the sake of Christ since we blush to drink the blood of Christ?[335]

White in Cyprian's eyes symbolizes good works or brotherly love, and the radiance of Christ; the bright purple of newly shed blood symbolizes suffering, as does the ruddy juice of the grape. The red flush of shame is common to the Church for an unworthy child and to the guilty or timid Christian too fearful to attest his loyalty.

Sound

References to sound have been excerpted to show Cyprian's almost exclusive concern with the tone of the human voice expressing the emotions of the heart. To illustrate the Lord's jealous solicitude for the virgins consecrated to Him, the Bishop questions: Does not a husband grow indignant and roar and, for the pain of jealousy, perhaps even seize his sword?[336] From his retreat Epistles 5 and

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EPISTULA 63

[334] 7.705.11 Nec non et apud Esaiam hoc idem spiritus sanctus de Domini passione
testatur dicens: *quare rubicunda sunt uestimenta tua, et indumenta tua uelut calcatione torcularis pleni et percalcati*
(Cf. Isa. 63. 2)?
numquid *rubicunda* uestimenta aqua potest facere
aut in torculari aqua est quae pedibus calcatur uel praelo exprimitur

[335] 15.714. 5 quomodo autem possumus propter Christum sanguinem fundere,
qui sanguinem Christi *erubescimus* bibere.

EPISTULA 4

[336] 3.475. 7 nonne (maritus) indignatur et *fremit*
et per zeli dolorem fortassis et gladium in manus sumit?

12 give careful instructions for the care of those who "having confessed the Lord with a glorious voice" are now in prison,[337] and in Epistle 6 addressed to them, he laments his inability to greet them in person. The unusual uniformity of language suggests a standard formula for confessors. Concerning the lapsed he admonishes his clergy to knock that it may be opened: if only our prayers and groans and tears keep knocking at the door.[338] Their prayers should be harmonious, for in a vision the Lord seemed displeased that in petitioning there were dissonant voices and disparate wills.[339] Let us be instant in prayer and make moan with unceasing petitions.[340] Greeting the confessors again: Our voice values nothing more highly than joyously to declare the glory of your name.[341] How lamentable must the irregularities appear to you which I have learned with deepest sigh and grief of soul.[342] His clergy he bids instruct the confessors: that they who have been glorious by their voice may be glorious also by their lives.[343] To the faithful laity he begins: How you bemoan and grieve over the falls of our brethren I know from myself who also groan over each one and grieve and suffer alike.[344] Accounting for his retirement he writes the Roman clergy: When the populace with violent

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EPISTULA 5

[337] 1.478.16 qui *gloriosa uoce* Dominum confessi in carcere sunt constituti, Cf. also Ep. 6, 1. 480. 10

EPISTULA 11

[338] 2.497. 5 si modo pulsent ostium preces et *gemitus* et lacrimae nostrae

[339] 3.497.12 in petendo autem fuisse *dissonas uoces* et dispares uoluntates

EPISTULA 12

1.502. 7 *gloriosa uoce* Dominum confessis et in carcere constitutis omnis diligentia praebeatur,

[340] 5.498.23 Oremus instanter et adsiduis precibus *ingemescamus.*

EPISTULA 13

[341] 1.504.16 in primis *uox nostra* conplectitur

[342] 5.507.21 cum summo animi nostri *gemitu et dolore* cognouimus,

EPISTULA 14

[343] 2.511. 4 qui *gloriosi uoce* fuerint sint et moribus gloriosi,

EPISTULA 17

[344] 1.521. 3 *Ingemescere* uos et *dolere* ruinas fratrum nostrorum ex me scio,
fratres carissimi, qui et ipse uobiscum pro singulis *ingemesco*
pariter et *doleo* et patior

outcry kept demanding me (for the lion) I withdrew for a time.[345] To the confessors he declares: This it is to be a martyr of Christ, to preserve inviolate and steadfast the firmness of his voice in all circumstances[346]—here the voice is clearly a profession of faith. To the lapsed: We pray with our supplications and groans that they may be restored to their former state,[347] and he tells the clergy of his counsels to them: that they may have true penitence and pray God with groaning and entire sorrow.[348] But how can they mourn and do penance whose groans and tears certain priests intercept?[349] The potency of the voice is illustrated eloquently in a letter to the confessors in prison; he begs: Let me be in your prayers and supplications when that voice, glorious by reason of purification of its confession and praiseworthy for the even tenor of its glory, penetrates to the ears of God; heaven being opened to it, transmitted from these parts of the subdued world unto the realms above, it obtains from the bounty of the Lord what it asks.[350] When appointing the confessor Celerinus as lector he

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EPISTULA 20

[345] 1.527. 9 cum me *clamore uiolento* frequenter populus flagitasset, . . . secessi

EPISTULA 28

[346] 2.546.16 hoc est esse martyrem Christi, seruare *uocis suae* inuiolatam circa omnia et solidam firmitatem,

EPISTULA 33

[347] 1.567. 1 ut in statum pristinum restituantur
precibus nostris et *gemitibus* oramus.

EPISTULA 34

[348] 1.569. 5 ut ueram paenitentiam habeant et *gemitu ac dolore* pleno Deum deprecentur,

[349] 2.569.11 *Ingemescere* autem et agere paenitentiam quomodo possunt
quorum *gemitibus* et lacrimis intercedunt quidam de presbyteris,

EPISTULA 37

[350] 4.578.25 simque in *precibus* et orationibus uestris
cum *uox illa* purificatione confessionis inlustris
et iugi honoris sui tenore laudabilis
ad Dei aures penetrat
et aperto sibi caelo de his subacti mundi partibus
ad superna transmissa inpetrat de Domini bonitate quod postulat.

exclaims: Be the voice which has confessed the Lord heard daily in these words which the Lord has spoken.[351] He laments his protracted absence: This doleful separation from your countenance and your eyes, this constant sorrow and groans wring me with ceaseless lamentation here alone without you.[352] When Novatian's messengers broke in on our worship with invidious outcries and turbulent clamors and demanded a hearing for Pope Cornelius' rival they were dismissed.[353] Later, he writes the Pope: What sounded out religious simplicity and was not noisy with any yelpings of maledictions and wranglings, I ordered read to the clergy and people.[354] In the same letter he urges the Pope: let us gather in the Church the bleating and straying sheep which the perverse faction and heretical attempt of some is separating from their mother.[355] The troublesome Novatus is described to the Pope as: raving with the rapacity of insatiable avarice, puffed up with the arrogance and stupor of haughty tumidity or inflation[356]—*furibundus* in the description requiring all those words must mean a noisy raving. A long letter to Antonianus explains the apparent change to over-readiness in pardoning the lapsed: While the conflict was still

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EPISTULA 39

[351] 4.584. 2 *uox* Dominum *confessa* in his cottidie
quae Dominus locutus est audiatur.

EPISTULA 43

[352] 4.593. 4 a uultibus adque ab oculis uestris lugubris separatio,
dolor iugis et *gemitus* qui me solum sine uobis
continua lamentatione discruciat,

EPISTULA 44

[353] 2.598. 9 Qui cum in statione *inuidiosis* quoque *conuiciis*
et *clamoribus turbulentis* proruerent et flagitarent

EPISTULA 45

[354] 2.602. 1 clero et plebi legi praecepi
quae religiosam simplicitatem *sonabant*
nec ullis maledictorum et *conuiciorum latratibus perstrepebant.*

[355] 3.602.20 *balabundas* et errantes oues,
quas quorundam peruicax factio
et haeretica temptatio a matre secernit,
in ecclesia colligamus,

EPISTULA 52

[356] 2.617.20 auaritiae inexplebilis rapacitate *furibundus,*
adrogantia et stupore superbi tumoris inflatus,

raging the courage of the warriors especially the lapsed was to be animated by the trumpet as it were of my voice, that they might not only follow the path of penance by prayers and lamentations but, chided by our voices, they might be provoked to the ardor of confession and glory of martyrdom.[357] In this military metaphor the episcopal voice serves as *classicum.* Even an earthly father does not threaten punishment to those who bewail and lament, whence the Lord in the Gospel says they who mourn are blessed because he who mourns calls forth mercy.[358] O mockery of a frustrated brotherhood!—to say, "Lament and pour forth tears and moan day and night[359] . . . yet shall you die outside the Church." *Inrisio* here is the nearest approach to laughter to be found, yet it is impossible to make it audible in translation. Finally, the groans of the mourning must be accepted.[360] Some, however, who confessing the name of the Lord had overcome the violence of the magistrate and the assault of the howling populace[361] . . . who amid the threats of the proconsul and the howling of the people standing about had withstood the mangling torments, and afterwards yielded through weakness, were surely deserving of merciful pardon when they had bewailed with the supreme lamentation of penance.[362] Pope Cornelius is informed that though tranquillity permitted them long

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EPISTULA 55

[357] 4.625.21 lapsorum mentes *classico* quodam *nostrae uocis* animandae ut
. . .
ad confessionis potius ardorem et martyrii gloriam
nostris *increpiti uocibus* prouocarentur.

[358] 23.641.15 *plangentibus et lamentantibus* poenam comminatur, . . .
unde Dominus in euangelio beatos dicit *plangentes,*
quia qui *plangit* misericordiam prouocat (Cf. Matt. 5. 5):

[359] 28.646. 8 o frustrandae fraternitatis *inrisio,* . . .
'*plange* et lacrimas funde et diebus ac noctibus *ingemesce*

[360] 29.647.11 admittendus est *plangentium gemitus*

EPISTULA 56

[361] 1.648.11 nomen Domini confessi uiolentiam magistratus
et *populi frementis* inpetum uicerant.

[362] 2.649. 3 inter minas proconsulis et *fremitum populi* circumstantis
tormentis laniantibus . . . repugnasse . . .
cum summa paenitentiae *lamentatione planxerunt*

to put off the tears of the wailing,[363] persecution demands that they arm even the fallen with weapons of grace. All those possessed by the devil daily attest their envenomed madness with furious voice . . . our courage ought to endure the assaults of the barking waves as with the strength and massiveness of an opposing rock.[364] In the circus he was demanded anew for the lion by the clamor of the populace.[365] Now true peace is removed by the deception of a false peace. The saving embrace of the mother is excluded by the intervention of a stepmother, lest the weeping and groans from the heart and lips of the lapsed be heard. . . . Those who are glorious in the Church, they assail with contumelies and reviling voices.[366] When such refractory characters return to the Church, the people growl and resist.[367] Novatian is described as brawling with his tongue to the destruction of the brethren and hurling the darts of envenomed eloquence.[368] In the conclusion of this long letter to the Pope he writes: Let us apply ourselves with unceasing groans and frequent supplications.[369] To the Numidian Bishops who had written concerning the captives he begins: With the deepest groan of our soul and not without tears we read your letter.[370] Though under the administration of the schismatic

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EPISTULA 57

[363] 2.651.22 tranquillitas . . . differre diu *plangentium lacrimas* . . . pateretur

EPISTULA 59

[364] 2.667.18 uenenatam rabiem suam cotidie *furiosa uoce* testantur. . . .
inpetus oblatrantium fluctuum
uelut petrae obiacentis fortitudine et mole debet obsistere

[365] 6.673.16 *clamore* popularium ad leonem denuo postulatus in circo:

[366] 13.680.22 pax uera falsae pacis mendacio tollitur,
salutaris sinus matris nouerca intercedente cluditur,
ne de pectore adque *ore* lapsorum fletus et *gemitus audiatur*. . . .
in ecclesia gloriosos contumeliis et *maledicis uocibus* prosecuntur.

[367] 15.685.11 ita contra *fremunt* et reluctantur quotiens inemendabiles

EPISTULA 60

[368] 3.694. 1 in perniciem fratrum lingua sua *perstrepens*
et facundiae uenenatae iacula contorquens,

[369] 5.694.24 incumbamus *gemitibus* adsiduis et deprecationibus crebris.

EPISTULA 62

[370] 1.698.10 Cum *maximo animi nostri gemitu* et non sine lacrimis legimus litteras uestras,

Marcian many had died unabsolved, Cyprian writes: At least let all the survivors who groan both day and night be given succor.[371]

All this groaning and grieving, weeping and wailing in despite, there is no reason to conclude that St. Cyprian was a morbid or gloomy character. True enough, groan, whether as verb *ingemesco* with *doleo,* or the noun *gemitus* with *dolor, lacrima, prex, oratio* or *deprecatio,* and *plango* with *lamento* and *lamentatio* account for most of the sound; there is, however the *gloriosa vox* to offset the moaning on the one hand, and the unrecorded instances of rejoicing and congratulation to balance the woe. The number of letters written concerning the lapsed and their need for deep sorrow and contrite penance and the true shepherd's grief over the wounds in his flock account for the frequency with which this note is sounded. There are on the other hand the frequent words of praise and joy in the courageous endurance and glorious faith of the confessors and martyrs.

From the human voice also come the violent clamor of the populace demanding the Bishop's own death in the amphitheater, the turbulent clamors of the antipope's messengers; dissonant voices and furious voices, in contrast to the glorious voice which pierces the skies and reaches the ears of God; hateful wrangling and the yelping of the wranglers. Inhuman or animal sounds, perhaps, are suggested in *oblatro* describing the waves and *latratus* here; in *fremo* and *fremitus*—the howl or growl of a jealous mate, of the bloodthirsty pagan mob, and of the justly indignant Christians; perhaps also in *furibundus. Perstrepo* and *increpo* in figure might suggest inanimate sources— *increpo* certainly with *classicum.*

Balabundus is of especial interest. Nowhere does Cyprian describe a real animal producing sound. It is the forum which bellows; waves and men which bark or yelp and growl like beasts. The reading *balabundus* has been defended because of Cyprian's liking for the *-bundus* ending and the probability of straying sheep bleating in their distress, notwithstanding the strong arguments in favor of the alternative *palabundus,* also rare: Cyprian's constant use of synonymous pairs such as *palabundas* and *errantes* would

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EPISTULA 68

[371] 3.746. 1 diebus ac noctibus *ingemescunt*

produce, his own use in the *Idola* 10 of *palabundi et uagi* in imitation of Tertullian's *Apologeticum* 21, and Pope Cornelius' use of it in his reply to this very letter, 611. 3.[h] The fact that these bleating sheep are not really animals but human beings, Christians separated from their Mother Church by heresy, would add one more point to support the probability of the correctness of this reading of a word which occurs nowhere else.

Although Cyprian disregards sound in nature as irrelevant to his thought, his ears must have been delicately attuned to sound as it issued from the throat and heart of man—his constant and precise attention to clausulae and indeed to all the niceties of word choice and arrangement gives conclusive evidence of that in every line.

Odor and Taste

Some notion of Cyprian's thought about the natural and material world insofar as it attracts or repels us through the senses other than eye and ear may be gained from such excerpts as these: The keynote perhaps is struck in the words of St. Paul: *If meat scandalize my brother I will never eat flesh lest I should scandalize my brother,*[372] although written here regarding the conduct of the virgins.

A letter to his clergy refers to a vision presaging an early peace and adds: But we are admonished also by these divine favors concerning a spare diet and moderate drinking, lest earthly allurement may enervate the heart now lofty with heavenly vigor, or the mind weighed down by too bountiful feasting may be less wakeful for the supplications of prayer.[373] The lapsed are to await pardon in penance and patience for no one would pluck sour or harsh-tasting fruit when the season is still too early.[374] The confessors tortured but still alive have pledged their brethren in the cup of salvation.[375] Of the lapsed whose penitential tears have been checked by the too lenient he writes his clergy: Naturally our wholesome and true counsels avail nothing while the saving truth is hindered by flatteries and pernicious soothing, and the wounded and sick mind of the lapsed suffers what often the sick and infirm also suffer; while they reject wholesome foods and useful beverages as bitter and disgusting and desire those things which seem delightful and sweet for the moment, they cause evil and death to themselves by heedlessness and intemperance, nor do true remedies of the physician avail for health so long as the sweet enticement of the flatterer deceives.[376] He who did not actually partake of the sacrificial food but somehow secured a certificate, when he learns that although no contagion of the deadly food polluted his mouth,[377] his conscience is polluted, sheds tears of contrition. There is, however, a proper time for pardon; contrary to the opinion of the Stoics who judge all sins of equal guilt, these are less guilty even than the adulterer who sins deliberately: the former in ignorance

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[h] Cf. Watson, p. 303 and Bayard, p. 26.

EPISTULA 4

[372] 2.474.20 *si cibus scandalizat fratrem, non manducabo carnem in saeculo*
ne fratrem scandalizem (Cf. 1 Cor. 8. 13).

EPISTULA 11

[373] 6.500.12 sed et de *uictu parco* et *sobrio potu* diuinis dignationibus
admonemur,
scilicet ne uigore caelesti sublime iam pectus
inlecebra saecularis eneruet,
uel ne *largioribus epulis* mens grauata
minus ad preces orationis euigilet.

EPISTULA 17

[374] 3.522.22 nemo inportuno adhuc tempore *acerba poma* decerpat.
(Cf. 633. 15; 637. 16).

EPISTULA 28

[375] 1.545.16 de *poculo salutari* fratribus propinastis.

EPISTULA 34

[376] 2.569.15 merito salubria nostra et uera consilia nihil promouent,
dum blanditiis et palpatione perniciosa salutaris ueritas impeditur,
et patitur lapsorum saucia et aegra mens
quod corporaliter quoque aegri et infirmi saepe patiuntur,
ut dum *salubres cibos et utiles potus*
quasi *amaros* et abhorrentes respuunt
et illa quae oblectare et ad praesens *suauia* uidentur esse adpetunt,
perniciem sibi et mortem
per inaudientiam et intemperantiam prouocent
nec proficiant ad salutem artificis medella uera,
dum blandientis decipit *dulcis inlecebra.*

EPISTULA 55

[377] 14.634. 4 os eius *feralis cibi* contagia nulla polluerint,

thinks it suffices not actually to sacrifice; the latter, assailant of another's marriage, entering the sewer and filthy cesspool of the rabble has violated the sanctified body and temple of God with detestable foulness.[378] Since a new persecution threatens, the penitent lapsed are to be fortified with the Sacraments: How can we teach them to shed their blood if we deny them the Blood of Christ? or how do we make them fit for the cup of martyrdom if we do not first admit them by the right of communicating to drink the cup of the Lord in the Church?[379] As the new struggle threatens the soldiers of Christ ought to prepare themselves with unsullied faith and stalwart courage, considering that they daily drink the chalice of the Blood of Christ that they also may be able to shed their blood for the sake of Christ.[380] To Pope Cornelius the Bishop writes of the schismatic bishops: *Their sacrifices shall be like the bread of mourning: all that shall eat it shall be defiled.*[381] While the very hands and mouths of the lapsed were still reeking they did not cease to communicate with the lapsed and interfere with their doing penance.[382] Not only unripe fruit is *acerba:* The crimes which are alleged against these schismatics by the brethren are most bitter and serious.[383] We pray and beseech God whom they do not cease to annoy and embitter that their hearts may grow mild or sweet.[384] Speaking of the desire for baptism: *Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice* because what is received with eager and thirsting desire is more fully and fruitfully drained.[385] Of those among the clergy who failed before the test he writes: Even now they are sighing after the suppers and banquets whose surfeit still remaining to the day, they belch forth from indigestion; now proving most clearly that before it was not religion but rather their stomach and gain which they were serving with unholy greed.[386] Consoling the martyrs in the mines the hapless condition of the body he compares with the glory of the soul: Your members are filthy, unbathed, unsightly with foulness and dirt, but spiritually that is washed away within, which without is defiled in the flesh. There bread is scant indeed, but not in bread alone doth man live but in the word of God.[387]

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[378] 26.644.10 ille matrimonii expugnator alieni uel lupanar ingressus
ad *cloacam et caenosam uoraginem* uulgi
sanctificatum corpus et Dei templum detestabili conluuione
uiolauerit,

EPISTULA 57

[379] 2.652. 7 aut quomodo ad *martyrii poculum* idoneos facimus,
si non eos prius ad bibendum in ecclesia *poculum Domini*
iure communicationis admittimus?

EPISTULA 58

[380] 1.657. 1 fide incorrupta et uirtute robusta parare se debeant milites
Christi,
considerantes idcirco se cotidie *calicem sanguinis* Christi
bibere
ut possint et ipsi propter Christum sanguinem
fundere.

EPISTULA 59

[381] 5.672.23 *sacrificia eorum tamquam panis luctus,*
omnes qui manducant ea contaminabuntur
(Cf. Osee 9. 4).

[382] 12.679.23 (cum) adhuc manus ipsae lapsorum adque *ora fumarent,*
communicare cum lapsis
et paenitentiae agendae intercedere non destiterunt.

Odor in the letters is merely suggested and that only by what is foul or noisome: the stench of common sewer and miry cesspool, the reeking hands and mouths defiled by sacrificial meat, the holy but unwashed bodies of the Christian prisoners in the mines.

Taste is somewhat more precisely dealt with, but accorded little worth. Food and drink, one gathers, is necessary to sustain life. In wholesome moderation it is undoubtedly good. If food were a source of scandal or sin to another, one must forego it. Excess is always harmful, physically or spiritually or both; and hence blameworthy or even disgusting. But the brethren are pledged in the cup of salvation; the martyrs are strengthened in persevering courage by the Chalice of the Lord. Crimes like unripe fruit are bitter; hearts though bitter may grow sweet. Not bread alone but the word of God is necessary for true life.

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[383] 16.686. 8 cum sint *acerbissima* et grauissima crimina
quae eis a fratribus ingerantur.
[384] 18.688.18 oramus ac deprecamur Deum quem prouocare illi et *exacerbare*
non desinunt, ut eorum corda *mitescant,*

EPISTULA 63
[385] 8.707.10 *beati sitientes et esurientes iustitiam* (Cf. Matt. 5. 6).
quia quod *auida et sitienti cupiditate* suscipitur
plenius et uberius hauritur.

EPISTULA 65
[386] 3.724. 5 *cenis adque epulis* etiam nunc *inhiant,*
quarum crapulam nuper superstitem in dies cruditate ructabant,
nunc manifestissime conprobantes nec ante se religioni,
sed uentri potius et quaestui profana cupiditate seruisse.

EPISTULA 76
[387] 2.830. 2 squalent sine balneis membra situ et sorde deformia,
sed spiritaliter intus abluitur quod foris carnaliter sordidatur.
panis illic exiguus, at non in *pane* solo uiuit homo sed in sermone Dei.

C. Summary

In those letters of Saint Cyprian which contain any nature allusions at all more than two thirds of the references have been made to inorganic nature both in physical and in metaphorical sense, and these as well as all others are predominantly Scriptural. Heaven and earth, day and night, light and darkness, fire and water, rocks and waves comprise the larger part. The seasons; the sky: sun, moon, and stars, clouds and storm, breeze and blast, wind and whirlwind; rivers, fountains, springs, pool and whirlpool; mountain, desert place and solitude, field, garden and vineyard; gold, silver, and iron; marble and clay; colors: purple, red and white—these include most of the rarer citations. By far the larger number of these nature allusions, especially those referring to light and darkness, shadows and storm, have a metaphorical application.

References to water cited in the controversies, as well as those to the fruit of the vine, from their very purpose, are based almost exclusively on the Scripture, and since the Old Testament was to contain the prophecies and figures of the new law, quotations from it are somewhat more numerous in this division than those from the New Testament.

Under plant life two types of allusions greatly predominate: one referring to grain: wheat, seed, root and fruits, cockle and chaff; the other, even more frequent, referring to the grapevine and its fruit. In addition there are references to roses and lilies, the olive and the apple tree, the oak, the cedar, and the palm. Of these all but the cedar occur at least once in non-Scriptural passages.

Allusions to animal life are the least numerous, and of these, sheep, lambs, and flocks constitute about two thirds. Wolves, dogs, lions, serpents, vipers, dove, sparrows, fish, and worms likewise occur at least once in Scriptural context. The only completely non-Biblical allusions mention bees as having a king, the hawk as separating one dove from a flock to kill it, apes as mimicking human actions, and finally, serpents and scorpions as being able to live even if cast into water.

Color allusions are limited to white for charity and the radiance of Christ; purple for suffering and newly-shed blood as also the ruddy juice of the grape; red too for the flush of shame. Sound is almost exclusively that of the human voice: moaning, groaning, or crying out in sorrow or remorse; clamoring for the Bishop's death, wrangling or growling in rage; praying or confessing Christ. In a transferred sense the waves bark, wranglers yelp, the mob howls, the Bishop's voice resounds as a trumpet calling to combat, and very probably the flock of Christ, led astray by the heretics, bleats in distress.

Odor is suggested only by the deadly pollution of the sacrificial food, the foulness of a human cesspool of sin, and the filthy, unwashed bodies of the glorious martyrs in the mines.

The sense of taste is implied in the counsel to be sparing in food and temperate in drink, since earthly delights enervate the uplifted heart and lavish feasting weighs down the prayerful mind. The sick reject as bitter and disgusting wholesome food and drink and crave for sweets. Unworthy priests imprisoned yearn for the surfeit of bountiful banquets. Unripe fruit is harsh or acrid; sacrificial food from pagan altars is deadly; the chalice of the Lord, the cup of salvation or martyrdom abound in grace and strength.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSIONS

St. Cyprian's chief contribution to the literary use of nature and its vocabulary may be summed up very simply. He showed how the Lord's own method of drawing proof and illustration for His mighty truths, and striking lessons for our instruction from the familiar world about Him was practical and effective in any day and in every land. Never did he call attention to a strange or curious phenomenon to teach men about nature. Rather did he appeal to what every man, woman, and child knew about nature to explain the mysteries of heaven and to impress more deeply the unchanging laws of God. With all his reverence for the words of Christ, Cyprian still sensed the real secret of their appeal—familiarity—and wisely adapted his own illustrations to the people of North Africa and Carthage. The Spirit of God descending as a dove once hovered over Christ in the distant Jordan, but to Cyprian's hearers He was the simple, gentle dove that circled about their own dwellings. The fishing bark of the Apostles was storm-tossed on the sea of Galilee but Cyprian's merchant vessels, battered in the gale, came safe to a port like Carthage. His serpent did not remain in a vanished garden of Eden but was lurking beside the very path they trod. The Christian way of life had a robber-infested inn to avoid. The famous roses and lilies of Carthage were rivaled by her martyrs' crowns. The Good Shepherd went out to seek the sheep which had been lost; the Bishop of Carthage vigorously strove to recover the sheep of his flock, driven away by the "cattle-thief" schismatics. Beginning with the sacred words of Scripture, he developed the simple majesty of God's truth in the most beautiful language at his command until all the artistry of word and sound had been impressed into the service of that glorious truth. Since the reverence in which the man and saint of God was long held extended equally to his words, it seems reasonable to suppose that his method fixed a standard, established an ideal which has influenced in some measure preachers of every succeeding age.

Gentleman by birth, rhetorician by training and profession, Cyprian shared the characteristic Roman genius for eloquence and administration, and the noble heritage of Graeco-Roman culture. Become Christian by grace and conviction, and almost immediately elected bishop of the great see of Carthage, during the brief ten-year period troubled by persecutions and pestilence, schism and heresy, and closed by a glorious martyrdom, he needed to speak and act even more than to write. Cyprian's works: apologetic treatises, disciplinary or moral-ascetic treatises, and episcopal letters, are not the likeliest source of nature imagery, yet from this study of all his references to the world outside him it may be concluded that as a man Cyprian was sensitively aware of the beauty and charm of the world about him, that he loved his own gardens well though he was ready to sacrifice them to the law of charity, that he was grateful for the beneficence of the heavens, the sun, the rain, the fruitfulness of the earth and the springs and streams necessary for that fertility. Undoubtedly he saw the beauty around him, and seeing loved it. There seems to be special significance in the frequency of the echoes of Vergil's *Georgics*. It betrays a kinship with the gentle spirit of the poet of fields and vineyard, flocks and bees. Hence the striking character of his customary silence about nature as he himself had observed it. By character as well as youthful training and mature profession he was heir to all the classic authors' accumulated store of observations and allusions to the beauties of earth and sea and sky. To the master of rhetoric belonged by right, the graceful use of this most effective of the poet's lavish embellishments. His references to nature are beautified not by graphic description of species, form, color or sound, however, but by the skillful artistry of words as the rhetorician applies to a poetic vocabulary the devices of sound, balance, and repetition, which lend force, charm, and dignity to his thought. His easy fluency and mastery of classic style betrays his long familiarity with the noblest writers of Rome. Indeed the smooth flow of his words, the usual gentle consideration and abounding charity of his thought well-nigh mask the peculiar genius of the man, as well as the determined authority and incisive purpose of his message.

For illustration and argument, however, Cyprian resorts chiefly to the Scriptures. Not only does he never quote classic authors by name, but not even to Christian writers including "the master," Tertullian himself, does he openly advert. He points simply, directly, constantly to the inspired Word of God as the sole font of divine wisdom. Almost every paragraph is based on the Sacred Writings. Three problems of his episcopacy, in particular, caused him to display not only the trained skill of the advocate in marshalling evidence, adding proof to proof until every possibility of doubt or disbelief is eliminated, but what is far more surprising, a controversial knowledge of both Old and New Testament that could amass all Scriptural references that have a bearing on a specific issue. The question of the lapsed and the heretics called forth a discussion of the duties of shepherds to their flocks and the dangers of preying wolves. The ritualistic matter of sacrificing water alone, instead of wine mingled with water, occasioned a letter citing almost every passage from Scripture with any bearing on water and the fruit of the vine in order to prove that water alone refers only to purification and hence the congregation, while the wine symbolized a sacrificial offering, that is, the Blood of Christ. And finally the question of baptism of heretics evoked another citation of Scripture references to water, bearing the burden of proof that the only saving and purifying water was to be found in the one true Church, Christ's "garden enclosed and fountain sealed up, a well of living water."

Only in the letters to the martyrs, tortured, suffering in prison or laboring in the mines, does the exiled Bishop throw off entirely his customary restraint and give vent to the emotions of his soul in lofty panegyric. Sympathy, grief, joy, and praise vie with each other for mastery as he pours out congratulation and encouragement to solace and strengthen the sufferers in their fearful trials.

For the most part then, purely non-Scriptural allusions to nature are confined to such treatises as the *Ad Donatum* and *Ad Demetrianum* and to the letters to or about the martyrs and confessors where the Bishop writes rather as friend and father than as priest or ruler. Not only these, however, but the other treatises also show that the stress of care and business had not blinded him to nature's charms but that he did not reserve for others the exhortation in

Ep. 11. 7, "Let us lift up our eyes to heaven lest the earth deceive us with its delights and charms." Quite purposefully had he turned from such models as Lucretius, the philosopher of nature, Vergil, its eloquent lover, and Horace, its gentleman poet, to learn true wisdom and beauty from the Hebrew prophets and psalmists, the divinely-tutored evangelists and their Lord. Whatever Latin or Greek Christian literature he may have known, Cyprian names no author either Christian or pagan other than the inspired writers of the Bible. Although in his language and thought the influence of Minucius Felix and Tertullian is as clear as that of Vergil, Cicero, and Seneca, and traces have been found of Irenaeus and the other early Greek Christian writers, in general Cyprian teaches his people through the familiar words of the Bible and the still more familiar world about them after the example of Christ, who said: "You have heard that it hath been said—" and: "Consider the lilies of the field."

Beloved and revered for generations not only in his wide-spreading see in North Africa but throughout the empire, St. Cyprian exercised an immeasurable influence on the thought and language of Latin Christianity which was eclipsed only by the more illustrious Fathers of the West: Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine more than a century later. St. Cyprian's use of nature and the vocabulary of nature, then, could scarcely fail to affect the speech and writings of the Church strongly and enduringly—a truth proved by the very familiarity of his words today.

APPENDIX

HEAVEN AND HEAVENLY, EARTH AND EARTHLY

LATIN EXCERPTS

Chaper I

AD DONATUM

[33] 3. 5. 2 in salo *iactantis saeculi* nutabundus . . . fluctuarem
4. 6. 5 *caelitus* spiritu hausto in nouum me hominem natiuitas secunda
reparauit. . . .
ut esset agnoscere *terrenum* fuisse,
quod prius carnaliter natum delictis obnoxium
uiueret. . . .
in mentes nostras *indulgentiae caelestis* adlapsu
clementer Dominus influxit,
5. 7. 6 non enim, qui *beneficiorum terrestrium* mos est,
in capessendo munere mensura ulla uel modus est, . . .
carnalis aspectus *saeculi nube* caecatur.
quantus hic animi potentatus est, quanta uis est . . .
esse subtractum perniciosis contactibus *mundi?*
6. 8.13 ipse a *terrenis contactibus* liber *fluctuantis mundi* turbines
intuere:
iam *saeculi* et ipse misereberis
8. 10.18 (exprimunt) Iouem illum . . . in *terrenos amores* . . . ardentem,
11. 12.17 iam tibi illa quae *ignorantia saecularis* bona opinatur ostendam.
14. 14.24 una solida et firma securitas,
si qui ab his *inquietantis saeculi* turbinibus
extractus. . . .
nihil desiderare de *saeculo* potest, qui *saeculo* maior est.
quam stabilis, quam inconcussa tutela est,
quam perennibus bonis *caeleste praesidium,*
inplicantis mundi laqueis solui,
in lucem immortalitatis aeternae de *terrena faece* purgari. . . .
se *spiritus caelestis* infundit . . . *caelum* intuens anima . . .
hac omni *terrena potestate* sublimior id esse incipit,
quod esse se credit.
15. 15.15 Tu tantum, quem iam spiritalibus castris *caelestis militia*
signauit . . .
tene sobriam religiosis uirtutibus disciplinam. . . .
penuria esse nulla iam poterit,
cum semel pectus *caelestis sagina* saturauit.
16. 16.10 nec sit uel hora conuiuii *gratiae caelestis* inmunis

IDOLA

6. 23.12 spiritus sunt insinceri et uagi,
qui posteaquam *terrenis uitiis* inmersi sunt
et a *uigore caelesti terreno contagio* recesserunt
(Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 26. 8).
15. 31.14 hunc habemus (Christum) salutis auctorem,
caelum pariter et patrem quaerentibus et credentibus pollicentem.

AD DEMETRIANUM

8.356.18 aequali iure et pari lege uel ueniatur in *istum mundum* uel de *mundo* postmodum recedatur,
13.361. 6 quid cum *terrenae carnis* inbecillitate contendis,
16.362.14 quid ante . . . *figmenta terrena* captiuum corpus incuruas? . . .
ad *caelum* adque ad Dominum susum uultus erectus est. . . .
ad *alta et caelestia* suspensum pectus adtolle.
18.363.22 poenam de aduersis *mundi* ille sentit
cui et laetitia et gloria omnis in *mundo* est
ille maeret et deflet, si sibi male sit in *saeculo,*
cui bene non potest esse post *saeculum,*
19.364.14 mitis et lenis et contra omnes *fluctuantis mundi* turbines stabilis
diuinae pollicitationis tempus expectat
quamdiu enim corpus hoc permanet commune cum ceteris,
sit necesse est et corporalis condicio communis . . .
nisi istinc de *saeculo* recedatur. . . .
non ergo idcirco compares uobis et aequales sumus,
quia in isto adhuc *mundo* et carne hac constituti
mundi et carnis incommoda uobiscum pariter incurrimus.
20.365. 3 inter ipsas *saeculi labentis* ruinas erecta mens est. . . .
Spiritus sanctus loquitur et hortatur
spei ac fidei nostrae firmitatem *caelesti uoce* corroborans. . . .
negat *mundi huius et saeculi infestationibus* commoueri. . . .
quid ad Dei seruos quos *paradisus* inuitat,
quos gratia omnis et copia *regni caelestis* exspectat? . . .
mala adque aduersa *mundi* fortiter tolerant. . . .
nam qui exposita *natiuitate terrena* spiritu recreati et renati sumus
nec iam *mundo* sed Deo uiuimus,
21.366. 4 Nemo sibi itaque blandiatur quod nobis et profanis, . . .
sit interim per aequalitatem carnis et corporis
laborum saecularium condicio communis
26.370.15 Hanc gratiam Christus inpertit, . . .
uiuificando mortalem *regeneratione caelesti.* . . .
hic ad *paradisum* reduces facit,
hic ad *caelorum regna* perducit.

AD FORTUNATUM

1.317. 3 in fine adque in consummatione *mundi*
antichristi tempus infestum adpropinquare iam coepit, . . .
(desiderasti) de diuinis scripturis hortamenta conponerem
quibus milites Christi ad spiritale et *caeleste certamen* animarem.
2.317.14 Quid autem potius aut maius curae nostrae ac sollicitudini congruit
quam . . . exercitum in *castris caelestibus* constitutum
aduersus diaboli tela et iacula . . . praeparare?
3.318.21 uetere illa nuditate contecta perferant omnes indumenta Christi
caelestis gratiae sanctificatione uestiti.
4.319. 9 baptisma quod nos de *mundo* recedentes statim Deo copulat.
13.347. 2 cluduntur in persecutionibus *terrae,*
sed patet *caelum*: . . .
occiso *mundus* eripitur,
sed restituto *paradisus* exhibetur: . . .
quanta est dignitas et quanta securitas exire hinc laetum, . . .
cludere in momento oculos,
quibus homines uidebantur et *mundus,*
aperire eosdem statim,
ut Deus uideatur et Christus. . . .
terris repente subtraheris,
ut in *regnis caelestibus* reponaris.

Chapter II

DE HABITU VIRGINUM

[84] 1.187. 2 Disciplina custos spei, . . . dux itineris salutaris, . . . facit . . .
ad *promissa caelestia* et diuina praemia peruenire.
2.188.10 inconcussi ad procellas et turbines *saeculi* stemus,
5.190.18 Quodsi . . . regno Dei uirginitas destinatur,
quid istae cum *terreno cultu* et cum ornamentis . . .
Deum offendunt
6.191.19 *mihi mundus crucifixus est et ego mundo* (Gal. 6. 14):
7.192.13 sciant . . . *bona* esse illa quae sint spiritalia, diuina, *caelestia,*
. . .
ceterum quaecumque *terrena* sunt in *saeculo* accepta
et hic cum *saeculo* remansura, tam contemni debent,
quam *mundus* ipse contemnitur, . . .
Iohannes nos excitat et hortatur spiritali et *caelesti uoce* contestans:
nolite diligere mundum neque ea quae in mundo sunt.
si quis dilexerit mundum, non est caritas patris in illo:

quoniam omne quod in mundo est concupiscentia carnis est
et concupiscentia oculorum et ambitio saeculi
quae non est a patre sed ex concupiscentia saeculi.
et mundus transibit et concupiscentia eius,
(Cf. 1 John 2. 15-17) ; 277.12

7.193. 7 *non descendi de caelo, ut faciam uoluntatem meam*
(Cf. John 6. 38) ; 277.6

9.194. 6 debet . . . nec desideria prolixa et de *saeculi ambitione* nascentia
ultra honorem ac pudorem uirginitatis extendi,

10.194.23 *qui hoc mundo utuntur quasi non utantur*
(Cf. 1 Cor. 7. 31). . . .
has opes, has diuitias possidere non potest
quae se diuitem *saeculo* mauult esse quam Christo.
(Cf. 202. 7).

11.195.12 *possessiones* tibi sed *caelestes* magis conpara,
ubi fructus tuos . . . ab omni contactu *iniuriae saecularis* inmunes

14.197.26 quae omnia peccatores et apostatae angeli suis artibus prodiderunt,
quando ad *terrena contagia* deuoluti a *caelesti uigore* recesserunt (Cf. Min. Fel. Oct. 26. 8).

21.202.16 aput martyras non est carnis et *saeculi* cogitatio . . .
non est ad magna facilis ascensus . . . quid ut ascendamus ad *caelum?*

22.203. 7 *filii saeculi huius generant et generantur:*
qui autem habuerint dignationem
saeculi illius et resurrectionis a mortuis,
non nubunt neque matrimonium faciunt
(Cf. Luke 20. 34,35) : . . .
uos resurrectionis gloriam in isto *saeculo* iam tenetis,
per *saeculum* sine *saeculi contagione* transitis: . . .
Deum spectet et *caelum* neque oculos ad *sublime* porrectos
ad carnis et *mundi concupiscentiam* deprimat, ad *terrena* deponat.

23.203.22 dum adhuc *rudis mundus* et *inanis* est,
copiam fecunditate generantes propagamur . . .
cum iam refertus est *orbis et mundus* inpletus (continentiam suasit). . . .
maioris gratiae praemium in *caelestibus* obtinetis.

23.204.11 apostoli uox est . . . quem ad promenda *mandata caelestia* Deus misit.
primus homo, inquit, *e terrae limo, secundus e caelo:*
qualis ille e limo, tales et qui de limo,

et qualis caelestis, tales et caelestes.
quomodo portauimus imaginem eius qui de limo est,
portemus et imaginem eius qui de caelo est
(Cf. 1 Cor. 15. 47-49).

DE CATHOLICAE ECCLESIAE UNITATE

1.209. 2 *uos estis sal terrae* (Matt. 5. 13).
1.210. 2 ab *initio* statim *mundi* fefellit (serpens)
2.210.17 contra omnes *tempestates et turbines saeculi* . . . solidatos.
3.211.20 euasisse *saeculi noctem* uidentur, . . .
nec *magisterii caelestis* doctrina seruatur.
4.212.11 *dabo tibi claues regni caelorum:*
et quae ligaueris super terram erunt ligata et in caelis,
et quaecumque solueris super terram erunt soluta et in caelis
(Cf. Matt. 16. 19).
5.214.10 ecclesia Domini luce perfusa per *orbem totum* radios suos porrigit: . . .
ramos suos in *uniuersam terram* copia ubertatis extendit,
6.215. 6 quisquam credit hanc unitatem . . . *sacramentis caelestibus* cohaerentem
scindi in ecclesia posse
7.215.19 unitatem ille (Christus) portabat de *superiore parte* uenientem
id est de *caelo* et a patre uenientem . . .
Achias propheta Hieroboam regi obuius factus in *campo*
in duodecim scissuras uestimentum suum discidit
14.222.24 ad *regnum caelorum* non potest peruenire discordia,
Cf. 285.20; 427.11.
15.223.17 Nam et prophetare et daemonia excludere
et uirtutes magnas in *terris* facere
sublimis utique et admirabilis res est,
non tamen *regnum caeleste* consequitur
quisque in his omnibus inuenitur,
16.224.16 sic in *occasu mundi* oportebat
20.228. 1 neque enim confessio . . . contra . . . *impetus saeculares*
adhuc in *saeculo* positum perpetua securitate defendit:
21.229. 7 ipse a patre exaltatus sit,
quia se in *terris* sermo et uirtus et sapientia Dei patris humiliauit,
23.230.22 iter rectum *uiae caelestis* adgnoscite.
26.232.13 domos tunc et *fundos* uenundabant et thesauros sibi in *caelo* reponentes
26.232.19 *filius hominis cum uenerit, putas inueniet fidem in terra*
(Cf. Luke 18. 8)?
27.233. 9 nos ad lucem claritatis aeternae de hac *saeculi nocte* perducat.

DE LAPSIS

2.237.19 repugnastis fortiter *saeculo,* spectaculum gloriosum praebuistis Deo,
2.238. 3 sanctificata ora *caelestibus cibis* post corpus et sanguinem Domini
profana contagia et idolorum reliquias respuerunt: . . .
feminae ueniunt quae cum *saeculo* sexum quoque uicerunt. . . .
inconcussis *praeceptorum caelestium* radicibus nixos . . .
qui *saeculo* renuntiasse se meminit nullum *saeculi diem* nouit,
nec *tempora terrena* iam conputat qui aeternitatem de Deo sperat.
3.239. 2 ille *iudicem saeculi* uincit,
4.239. 9 Has martyrum *caelestes coronas,* . . . maestitia una contristat,
5.240. 9 iacentem fidem et paene dixerim dormientem *censura caelestis* erexit,
6.240.25 episcopi plurimi . . . diuina procuratione contempta
procuratores *regum saecularium* fieri,
7.241.25 Dei seruos *caelesti uoce* corroborans
8.242.23 stare illic potuit Dei seruus et loqui et renuntiare Christo
qui iam diabolo renuntiarat et *saeculo?*
10.244. 5 uox auditur e *caelo* praemonens quid Dei seruos facere oporteret
11.244.21 serpenti *terram* secundum Dei sententiam deuoranti
praeda et cibus fierent qui *terrestribus* inhaererent. . . .
thesaurum in *caelo* reponentes
hostem nunc et expugnatorem domesticum non haberent:
esset in *caelo* cor et animus et sensus, si thesaurus esset in *caelo,*
nec uinci a *saeculo* posset qui unde uinceretur in *saeculo* non haberet.
12.245.10 quomodo *caelum* petunt et ad *sublimia et alta* conscendunt
qui *terrenis cupiditatibus* degrauantur?
18.250.10 *non iudicas et uindicas sanguinem nostrum de his qui in terris inhabitant* (Cf. Apoc. 6. 10)?
19.251.21 *terra,* inquit (Ezechiel) *quaecumque peccauerit mihi . . .*
extendam manum meam super eam (Cf. Ezech. 14. 13).
20.252. 8 *ego confitebor eum coram patre meo qui est in caelis* (Cf. Matt. 10. 32):
23.254. 8 quid praeclusa et alienata mens remedia uitalia non conspicit
quae de *scripturis caelestibus* et discimus et docemus?
27.257. 2 cum scriptum sit: *non potestis duobus dominis seruire* (Cf. Matt. 6. 24),
seruiuit *saeculari domino,*
29.258.17 Confiteantur singuli quaeso uos, fratres, delictum suum,
dum adhuc qui deliquit in *saeculo* est,
30.259.14 nec diuini et *caelestis ornatus* damna deflere?

DE DOMINICA ORATIONE

1.267. 5 (Euangelica praecepta) dum docibiles credentium mentes
in *terris* instruunt, ad *caelestia regna* perducunt.
4. 268.29 *nonne caelum et terram ego inpleo* (Cf. Jer. 23. 24)?
6.269.24 non adleuatis in *caelum* inpudenter oculis . . .
inplorabat auxilium (publicanus), Cf. 270.14
7.270.22 *sic,* inquit, *orate*: *pater noster, qui es in caelis, . . .*
fiat uoluntas tua in caelo et in terra (Cf. Matt. 6. 9,10),
Cf. 271.6; 272.12, 22, 27; 273.4; 284, 17, 19;
9.272.10 non in precibus . . . *caelestis doctrinae* conpendio conprehendatur! . . .
contestetur . . . renuntiasse se *terreno* et carnali *patri* . . .
item Dominus in euangelio suo praecepit ne uocemus nobis patrem in *terra*
11.274.15 qui Spiritales et *caelestes* esse coepimus
non nisi spiritalia et *caelestia* cogitemus et agamus,
13.275.26 qui in *saeculo* ante seruiuimus postmodum Christo dominante regnemus, . . .
percipite regnum quod uobis paratum est ab origine mundi (Cf. Matt. 25. 34). . . .
bene autem regnum Dei petimus id est *regnum caeleste,*
quia est et *terrestre regnum.*
sed qui renuntiauit iam *saeculo* maior est . . .
et ideo qui se Deo et Christo dicat
non *terrena* sed *caelestia regna* desiderat.
continua autem oratione et prece opus est,
ne excidamus de *regno caelesti,* sicut Iudaei . . .
multi . . . recumbent cum Abraham et Isaac et Iacob in regno caelorum (Matt. 8. 11).
14.276.21 *fiat uoluntas tua in caelo et in terra* (Cf. Matt. 6. 10),
16.278. 8 Fieri autem petimus uoluntatem Dei in *caelo* et in *terra*: . . .
nam cum corpus e *terra* et spiritum possideamus e *caelo,*
ipsi *terra* et *caelum* sumus . . .
dum spiritus *caelestia* et diuina quaerit,
caro *terrena et saecularia* concupiscit. . . .
hoc precamur et in *caelo* et in *terra* uoluntatem circa nos Dei fieri:
haec est uoluntas Dei ut *terrena caelestibus* cedant,
17.279.13 petamus et pro illis qui adhuc *terra* sunt
et necdum *caelestes* esse coeperunt. . . .
nam cum discipuli ab eo iam non *terra* appellentur sed sal *terrae*
et apostolus primum hominem uocet de *terrae limo,*

secundum uero de *caelo,*
merito et nos qui esse debemus patri Deo similes, . . .
petimus . . .
ut quomodo in *caelo* id est in nobis per fidem nostram
uoluntas Dei facta est ut essemus e *caelo,*
ita et in *terra* hoc est in illis credentibus fiat uoluntas Dei,
ut qui adhuc sunt prima natiuitate *terreni*
incipiant esse *caelestes* ex aqua et spiritu nati.

18.280.10 hunc autem panem dari nobis cottidie postulamus,
ne . . . dum abstenti et non communicantes a *caelesti pane* prohibemur,
a Christi corpore separemur ipso praedicante et dicente:
ego sum panis uitae qui de caelo descendi. . . .
panem autem quem ego dedero caro mea est pro saeculi uita (Cf. John 6. 51).

19.281. 3 qui *saeculo* renuntiauimus . . . cibum nobis tantum petamus et uictum, . . .
quia et contrarium sibi sit et repugnans,
ut quaeramus in *saeculo* diu uiuere . . .
nihil, inquit (beatus apostolus), *intulimus in hunc mundum* (Cf. 1 Tim. 6. 7).

27.287.11 *libera nos a malo,* . . . qua inpetrata contra omnia
quae diabolus et *mundus* operantur securi stamus et tuti.
quis enim uel de *saeculo* metus est cui in *saeculo* Deus tutor est?

28.287.21 *sermonem breuiatum faciet Deus in toto orbe terrae* (Cf. Isa. 10, 23). . . .
praeceptorum suorum fecit grande conpendium,
ut in *disciplina caelesti* discentium memoria non laboraret,

31.289.11 Quando autem stamus ad orationem, . . .
cogitatio omnis carnalis et *saecularis* abscedat

DE MORTALITATE

1.297. 4 tamquam petra fortis et stabilis
turbidos impetus mundi et *uiolentos saeculi fluctus* frangit.
. . .
animaduerto in plebe quosdam . . . dulcedine *saecularis uitae*

2.297.16 positus in *caelestibus castris* diuina iam sperat,
ut ad *procellas et turbines mundi* trepidatio nulla sit nobis,
. . .
possessio *paradisi* nuper amissa *mundo transeunte* iam ueniunt:
iam *terrenis caelestia* . . . succedunt.

4.299.14 cum *inlecebris saecularibus* adsidua et molesta luctatio.

7.300.25 cari quos diligimus de *saeculo* exeunt,

8.301. 9 immunis a contactu malorum *mundo* et *saeculo* feliciter perfruatur

14.306. 5 mori timeat quem de *saeculo* recedentem perennibus poenis
aeterna flamma torquebit.
18.308.19 et uolumus ab eo *praemiis caelestibus* honorari
ad quem uenimus inuiti.
quid ergo oramus et petimus ut adueniat *regnum caelorum,*
si *captiuitas terrena* delectat?
22.310.25 quis non mutari et reformari ad Christi speciem
et ad *caelestis gratiae* dignitatem citius exoptet? . . .
ut . . . in *regnis caelestibus* gaudeamus patrem pro nobis precatur . . .
uenturus ad . . . *regnorum caelestium* claritatem lugere non debet
23.311.20 de hoc *contagio saeculi* meruisse transferri. (Enoch)
24.312. 4 Eius est in *mundo* diu uelle remanere quem *mundus* oblectat,
quem *saeculum* blandiens adque decipiens
inlecebris *terrenae uoluptatis* inuitat. . . .
ne carnalia desideria sectantes *mundum* diligamus hortatur (Iohannes)
nolite, inquit, *diligere mundum neque ea quae in mundo sunt* (Cf. 1 John 2. 15).
26.313.11 cogitandum renuntiasse nos *mundo* . . .
amplectamur diem . . . qui nos . . . *laqueis saecularibus* exsolutos
paradiso restituit et regno. . . .
qualis illic *caelestium regnorum* uoluptas sine timore moriendi . . .
ad *caelestes thesauros terrena patrimonia* transtulerunt.

DE OPERE ET ELEEMOSYNIS

4.375.19 quisque ad spem *regni caelestis* instruitur
7.378.21 (Dominus) inter . . . *praecepta caelestia* nihil crebrius mandat . . . (Cf. Matt. 6.19, 20; 19.21; 13.45).
quam . . . ne *terrenis possessionibus* incubemus
sed *caelestes thesauros* potius recondamus. . . .
negotiatorem *caelestis gratiae* . . . pretiosam margaritam . . .
dicit debere mercari.
9.380.10 finiri non potest . . . unde *opus caeleste* celebratur.
12.382.26 nobis amicos de *terrestribus lucris* prouida operatione faceremus
13.383.25 fac tibi *possessionum terrestrium* Christum participem,
ut et ille te sibi faciat *regnorum caelestium* coheredem.
14.384. 1 Erras et falleris quisque te in *saeculo* diuitem credit.
16.386.11 si enim Deus eleemosynis pauperum faeneratur . . .
non est quod quis *terrena caelestibus* praeferat

18.387.18 ut in hac *uita saeculari* alendis sustinendisque pignoribus
quo maior est numerus
hoc maior et sumptus est,
ita et in *uita* spiritali adque *caelesti*
quo amplior fuerit pignorum copia
esse et operum debet maior inpensa.
19.388. 7 ille contra omnes *iniurias saeculares* diuina maiestate protector.
quid studes *terreno* magis quam *caelesti patrimonio,*
22.390.19 immo ad *caelestes thesauros* mutata in melius possessione translatis.
in istis *muneribus* meis caducis adque *terrenis* nemo pascitur,
. . .
uix tui meis perdentibus adaequantur
qui a te diuinis mercedibus et *praemiis caelestibus* honorantur. . . .
24.392.27 *spreto calcatoque iam mundo* ad superna et diuina animus erectus est. . . .
demus Christo *uestimenta terrena*
indumenta caelestia recepturi.
demus *cibum et potum saecularem* . . .
ad *conuiuium caeleste* uenturi.
25.393.14 *terreno patrimonio* uendito adque distracto
fundos illuc transferentes ubi fructus caperent possessionis aeternae, . . .
hoc est *lege caelesti* aequitatem Dei patris imitari.
26.394. 4 populum suum Dominus coeperit recensere . . .
contribuens pro *terrenis caelestia,*

DE BONO PATIENTIAE

1.397. 7 nec inuenio, . . . inter ceteras *disciplinae caelestis* uias . . .
quid magis sit . . . quam ut . . . patientiam . . . tueamur.
3.398.22 patientiam quam *magisteriis caelestibus* discimus
obsequiis spiritalibus praebeamus.
5.400.24 *eritis itaque uos perfecti,*
quomodo pater uester caelestis perfectus est (Cf. Matt. 5. 48).
sic perfectos dixit fieri Dei filios . . . *caelesti natiuitate* reparatos,
si patientia Dei patris maneat in nobis,
6.401.11 de illa *sublimitate caelesti* ad *terrena* descendens
non aspernatur Dei filius carnem hominis induere . . .
esurit et famem sensit ut qui in fame sermonis et gratiae fuerant
caelesti pane saturarentur.
7.402.15 spoliaretur *ueste terrena* qui indumento inmortalitatis ceteros uestit,

cibaretur felle qui *cibum caelestem* dedit,
8.403. 5 si admissum facinus agnoscant,
non solum ad indulgentiam criminis
sed ad praemium *regni caelestis* admittit.
10.404.20 omnes ad *caelestes coronas patientiae* laude uenerunt.
11.404.28 tunc sciemus quam patientes esse in *isto saeculo* debeamus,
qui sic nascimur, ut pressuris istic . . . laboremus.
12.405.13 Vnde unusquisque cum nascitur et *hospitio mundi huius* excipitur,
initium sumit a lacrimis . . .
quae cum apta sint et necessaria in *isto mundo* uniuersis,
tum magis nobis qui diabolo inpugnante plus quatimur, . . .
haec locutus sum uobis, ut in me pacem habeatis,
in saeculo autem pressuram:
sed fidite, quoniam ego uici mundum
(Cf. John 16. 33).
si autem qui diabolo et *mundo* renuntiauimus
pressuras et infestationes diaboli et *mundi*
crebrius ac uiolentius patimur,
quanto magis patientiam tenere debemus
qua adiutrice et comite omnia infesta toleremus.
13.407. 1 apostolus iustos et operantes et de diuini faenoris incremento
caelestes sibi *thesauros* recondentes
ut patientes quoque sint instruit
22.413.24 *uocabit caelum susum et terram ut separet populum suum. . . .*
et nuntiabunt caeli iustitiam eius, quoniam Deus iudex est
(Cf. Ps. 49. 4,6).
24.415. 3 *in nomine Iesu omnes genu curuent*
caelestium, terrestrium et infernorum
(Cf. Phil. 2. 10). . . .
qualis Iesus Dominus et quanta patientia
ut qui in *caelis* adoratur necdum uindicetur in *terris.*

DE ZELO ET LIVORE

2.420. 9 *honores, terrenos* promittit ut *caelestes* adimat:
4.421.20 *inuidia autem diaboli mors introiuit in orbem terrarum*
(Wisd. 2.24).
12.427.14 quid inter monita salutaria et *praecepta caelestia*
custodiendum magis seruandumque mandauit
quam ut eadem dilectione qua discipulos ipse dilexit
nos quoque inuicem diligamus?
13.427.28 homo iam sancto Spiritu plenus
et *natiuitate caelesti* Dei filius factus
non nisi spiritalia et diuina sectetur,
14.428.10 et *terreni corporis* infesta labes spiritali uigore calcanda, . .
si de *terris* oculos ad *caelum* sustulimus, . . .

si ad superna et diuina plenum Deo et Christo pectus ereximus, . . .
quae sursum sunt sapite, non quae terrena sunt
(Cf. Col. 3. 2)....
qui *regeneratione caelesti* Christo consurreximus,
quae sunt Christi et cogitemus pariter et geramus, . . .
imaginem autem *caelestem* portare non possumus,
nisi . . . Christi similitudinem praebeamus.
16.431. 3 qui ad pauperum fouendorum misericordiam pronus est
retributionem *thesauri caelestis* adipiscitur.
18.432. 6 cogita *caeleste regnum,*
ad quod non nisi concordes adque unanimes Dominus admittit. . . .
placituri semper in regno in *hoc mundo* ante placeamus.

Chapter III

EPISTULA 1
1.465. 6 Geminius Victor frater noster de *saeculo* excedens
Geminium Faustinum presbyterum tutorem testamento suo nominauerit, . . .
nemo militans Deo obligat se molestiis saecularibus
(Cf. 2 Tim. 2. 4), . . .
quanto magis *molestiis et laqueis saecularibus* obligari non debent
qui . . . ad *terrenos et saeculares actus* uacare non possunt. . . .
nec cogitare aut agere *saecularia* cogerentur. . . .
ne *molestiis et negotiis saecularibus* adligentur, . . .
die ac nocte *caelestibus rebus* et spiritalibus seruiant.
2.467. 5 ne quis sacerdotes . . . ad *saecularem molestiam* deuocet.
EPISTULA 2
2.468.20 male ac perniciose in *saeculo* saginatos
ad aeternae famis ac sitis supplicia deducit.
EPISTULA 3
3.471.17 post ascensum Domini in *caelos*
EPISTULA 4
5.477.15 propter *regnum caelorum,* per omnia Deo placeant
EPISTULA 6
1.480.11 despecto *saeculo* conspiciendo Deo digni extiterunt? . . .
in confessione *caelestis gloriae* fortes et stabiles perseueretis. . . .
et ecce ego uobiscum sum omnibus diebus
usque ad consummationem mundi
(Cf. Matt. 28. 20).

o beatum carcerem qui homines Dei mittit ad *caelum*.
o tenebras lucidiores sole ipso et luce hac *mundi* clariores, . . .
2.481. 5 diuina praecepta et *mandata caelestia*,
quibus nos . . . spiritus sanctus semper animauit. . . .
scientes ab *initio mundi* sic institutum
ut laboret istic in *saeculari conflictatione* iustitia, . . .
qui amat animam suam in isto saeculo, perdet illam
et qui odit animam suam in isto saeculo,
in uitam aeternam conseruabit illam
(Cf. John 12. 25).
Cf. 663.2
4.484.14 opto uos . . . ad *coronae caelestis* gloriam peruenire.
Cf. 731.22

EPISTULA 10
1.490.18 maior est qui est in nobis quam qui est in *hoc mundo*
(Cf. 1 John 4. 4),
nec plus ad deiciendum potest *terrena paena*
quam ad erigendum tutela diuina.
2.491.10 uidit admirans praesentium multitudo *caeleste certamen* Dei
et spiritale . . .
telis quidem *saecularibus* nudos (seruos Christi).
4.492.18 *agon caelestis* exhibitus et Dei seruus . . . iungat etiam . . .
corona caelestis,
5.494.16 uicto et *calcato saeculo* ad Dominum glorioso itinere uenerunt.
. . .
in *caelestibus castris* et pax et acies habent flores suos

EPISTULA 11
1.495.19 nec data nobis ad salutem *caelestia mandata* seruamus. . . .
saeculo uerbis solis et non factis renuntiantes,
3.497.21 *si duobus ex uobis conuenerit in terra de omni re quamcumque*
petieritis
continget uobis a patre meo qui in caelis est
(Cf. Matt. 18. 19).
6.500.13 *uigore caelesti* sublime iam pectus *inlecebra saecularis* eneruet,
7.501. 4 oculos erigamus ad *caelum,*
ne oblectamentis et inlecebris nos suis *terra* decipiat.

EPISTULA 13
2.505. 8 adhuc in *saeculo* sumus, adhuc in acie constituti,
3.506.11 *clarificent patrem uestrum qui in caelis est*
(Cf. Matt. 5. 16). . . .
lucete sicut luminaria in mundo (Cf. Phil. 2. 15).
5.508.13 *saeculo* renuntiaueramus cum baptizati sumus:
sed nunc uero renuntiamus
saeculo quando temptati et probati a Deo
Cf. 652.11.

EPISTULA 14

2.511. 6 ad *caelestem coronam* laudis suae consummatione perueniant.

. . .

nec post *tertium caelum* et *paradisum* quicquam sibi insolenter adsumpsit

EPISTULA 16

2.518. 4 *ego in illo confitebor coram patre meo qui in caelis est* (Cf. Matt. 10. 32).

EPISTULA 19

2.526. 2 nec ecclesiae unius aut unius prouinciae sed *totius orbis* haec causa est,

EPISTULA 20

3.528.19 libello a martyribus accepto de *saeculo* excederent,

EPISTULA 27

3.544. 3 *sed licet nos aut angelus de caelo aliter adnuntiet* (Cf. Gal. 1. 8).

Cf. 709. 15 same text but with *euangelizauerit*

EPISTULA 28

1.545. 8 *caelestis militiae* signa mouistis. Cf. 651. 20.

2.546. 5 *data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra* (Matt. 28. 18). . . .

diuina et *caelestia mandata* seruatis. Cf. 658. 14.

EPISTULA 33

1.566. 6 *et tibi dabo claues regni caelorum,*
et quae ligaueris super terram erunt ligata et in caelis,
et quaecumque solueris super terram erunt soluta et in caelis (Cf. Matt. 16. 19).

Cf. 783. 16 potestatem . . . ut id solueretur in terris quod ille soluisset.

EPISTULA 37

1.576.20 sola *caelestia* et tantum diuina meditantes,

2.577. 6 ecce *dignitas caelestis* in uobis honoris annui claritate signata est. . . .
inluminabat *mundum* sol oriens . . . flores de *paradisi* deliciis aderant
et caput uestrum *serta caelestia* coronabant. . . .
caelestibus praemiis temporum uicissitudo celebratur.

3.578. 6 Beati satis qui . . . iam de *saeculo* recesserunt . . .
uoluntas est illic tantum Dei, . . .
uiuitur non *praesentis saeculi* sed futuri.

4.578.26 (illa uox) aperto sibi *caelo* de his *subacti mundi* partibus ad *superna* transmissa inpetrat de Domini bonitate quod postulat.

EPISTULA 39

1.582. 8 sic Dominus honorauit *caelestis gloriae* dignitate.

3.583. 7 in *castris* et ipsi quondam *saecularibus* militantes, . . .

quod si in *familia saeculari* praedicationis et laudis est esse patricium,
quanto maioris laudis et honoris est
fieri in *caelesti praedicatione* generosum.

EPISTULA 51

2.615.16 cum enim Dominus in euangelio suo dicat
esse summum gaudium in *caelo*
super peccatorem paenitentiam agente,
quanto maius est gaudium et in *terris* pariter et *in caelo*
super confessoribus . . . redeuntibus

EPISTULA 52

4.619.23 *omnis plantatio quam non plantauit pater meus caelestis eradicabitur.* (Matt. 15. 13).
Cf. 792. 18

EPISTULA 54

1.621. 8 militiae uestrae *caelestem ac spiritalem laudem* gratulabundus excepi.

EPISTULA 55

5.627.10 quae litterae per *totum mundum* missae sunt
6.627.19 eo quod sibi ecclesia cluderetur secuti *saeculum* gentiliter *uiuerent,*
8.629. 5 per *totum mundum* concordi unianimitate consensit.
Cf. 732. 5; 741. 5.
17.636. 1 si ab ecclesia dure et crudeliter segregatus
ad gentiles se uias et *saecularia opera* conuertat
23.641. 4 *quanto magis pater uester caelestis dabit bona poscentibus eum* (Cf. Matt. 7. 11)? . . .
quod si iste in *terris* nequam pater offensus grauiter a filio peccatore
24.642.13 una ecclesia per *totum mundum* in multa membra diuisa, . . .
quasi possit aut *totum orbem* noui conatus obstinatione peragrare. Cf. 745. 17.
27.645. 4 *mortificate itaque membra uestra quae in terra sunt*
(Cf. Col. 3. 5),

EPISTULA 57

1.651. 2 de *saeculo* recedentes sine communicatione et pace . . .
legem dederit ut ligata in *terris* et in *caelis* ligata essent,
(Cf. Matt. 18. 18).

EPISTULA 58

1.656.17 scire enim debetis . . . *occasum saeculi* . . . adpropinquasse,
2.657.12 nemo quicquam de *saeculo iam moriente* desideret.
2.658.15 *nemo est qui relinquat domum aut agrum . . . propter regnum Dei,*
et non recipiat . . . in saeculo autem uenturo uitam aeternam
(Cf. Luke 18. 29,30). . . .
ecce enim merces uestra multa in caelis (Cf. Luke 6. 23).

3.658.27 tunc martyribus patent *caeli.*
5.661.12 *nihil colo ego nisi Dominum Deum meum qui condidit caelum et terram* (Cf. Dan. 14. 4).
6.662. 5 si odio *saeculi* laboramus, odium *saeculi* sustinuit prior Christus:
si contumelias in hoc *mundo,* si fugam, si tormenta toleramus,
grauiora expertus est *mundi factor* et dominus, qui et admonet dicens:
si saeculum, inquit, *uos odit, mementote quoniam me primo odiit, etc.*
(Cf. John 15. 18,19).
7.663.10 *fumus de tormentis eorum in saecula saeculorum ascendet*
Cf. 722. 21 (Cf. Apoc. 14. 11),
8.663.13 Ad *agonem saecularem exercentur homines . . . coronae caelestis* praemio . . .
non est nobis conluctatio aduersus carnem et sanguinem,
sed aduersus potestates et principes huius mundi et harum tenebrarum,
aduersus spiritus nequitiae in caelestibus
(Cf. Eph. 6. 12).
9.664.16 Haec arma sumamus, his nos *tutamentis* spiritalibus et *caelestibus* muniamus,
9.665. 3 postmodum Domini sumptura *praemium caelestium coronarum.*
10.665.14 in *regno caelorum* datae inmortalitatis uoluptate gaudere,

EPISTULA 59

2.667.20 inde aduersarius et inimicus maior est Christo
quia tantum sibi uindicat et adsumit in *saeculo.*
3.669.13 *in caelum ascendam, . . . descendes in fundamenta terrae*
(Cf. Isa. 14. 13,15):
5.672.12 *nonne duo passeres asse ueneunt*
et neuter eorum cadit in terram sine patris uoluntate
Cf. 727. 2 (Cf. Matt. 10. 29)?
17.687.10 pauci temerarii et improbi *caelestes* et salutares *uias* Domini derelinquunt

EPISTULA 60

2.693. 7 tanta in *saeculo* malitia et saeuitia grassetur,
3.694. 2 magis durus *saecularis philosophiae* prauitate
quam sophiae dominicae lenitate pacificus,
5.695. 1 haec sunt enim nobis *arma caelestia*

EPISTULA 61

3.696.24 *saecularis potestas* subito proruperit,

EPISTULA 62

4.700.14 expectaturi messem de amplissimis fructibus
qui de hac *caelesti* et salutari *operatione* proueniunt.

EPISTULA 63

11.709.20 neque ipse apostolus neque angelus de *caelo* adnuntiare possit aliter . . .

calix dominicus sic inebriet ut sobrios faciat, . . .
ut a *sapore isto saeculari* ad intellectum Dei unusquisque resipiscat, . . .
et fiat obliuio *conuersationis pristinae saecularis*
13.712. 2 tunc *sacramentum* spiritale et *caeleste* perficitur. . . .
sic in Christo qui est *panis caelestis* unum sciamus esse corpus,
16.714.15 hora ipsa sacrificii ostenderet *occasum et uesperam mundi,*
18.716.10 *ego sum lumen saeculi* (Cf. John 8. 12). . . .
data est mihi omnis potestas in caelo et in terra
(Matt. 28. 18).
19.717. 2 in *claritate sua et maiestate caelesti* uenire coeperit,

EPISTULA 64

2.718.13 nobis enim adque oculis nostris secundum *dierum saecularium* cursum
accipere qui nati sunt incrementum uidentur.
3.719. 4 possit aetas nostra in incrementis corporum
secundum *saeculum,*
non secundum Deum habere discrimen: . . .
se omnibus ad *caelestis gratiae* consecutionem
aequalitate librata praebeat patrem.
Cf. 719. 15; 763. 17; 765. 8.

EPISTULA 66

7.732. 8 Puppianus solus integer inuiolatus, . . . qui nobis miscere se noluit,
in *paradiso* adque in *regno caelorum* solus habitabit.

EPISTULA 67

1.735.21 iam pridem mandatur *uoce caelesti*
7.741.13 praenuntiata sunt haec futura in *saeculi fine* . . . *deficiente* iam *mundo* . . .
bona quaeque deficere, mala uero et aduersa proficere

EPISTULA 69

4.753. 4 declaratur in unam domum solam id est in ecclesiam uicturos
et ab *interitu mundi* euasuros colligi oportere,
6.755.12 et audet quisquam uestrum dicere aquam baptismi salutarem
et *gratiam caelestem* communem cum schismaticis esse posse,
cum quibus nec *terrestris* nec *saecularis potus* debeat esse communis?
12.761. 2 in *lauacro* carnali et *saeculari* sordes cutis et corporis abluuntur,
13.762.13 scio paralytico illi . . . in lecto iacenti nihil infirmitatem suam obfuisse
quo minus ad *firmitatem caelestem* plenissime perueniret,
14.763.13 de *caelo* manna deflueret et futurorum praefiguratione
alimentum panis caelestis et cibum Christi uenientis ostenderet.

EPISTULA 73
10.785.20 baptismi gratiam salutari et *caelesti inundatione* largitur.
16.790. 1 *non omnis qui mihi dicit, Domine, Domine, introibit in regnum*
caelorum (Cf. Matt. 7. 21),
19.793.17 nisi si is qui maledicentes parentibus carnalibus
puniri et interfici mandat,
in *caelestem* et spiritalem *patrem* maledicos
adque ecclesiae matris inimicos ipse uiuificat.
19.792.21 de *exemplis terrenis ac saecularibus* discant . . .
filii saeculi huius prudentiores sunt filiis lucis
(Cf. Luke 16. 8).
in *saeculo isto* si cuius patri aliquis conuicium fecerit, . . .
indignatur filius et irascitur. . . .
22.796. 6 quod secum futurus sit in *paradiso* pollicetur. . . .
correctos a nobis ac reformatos ad *regnum caelorum*
disciplinis caelestibus erudire (debemus).

EPISTULA 74
4.802.12 ad celebranda *sacramenta caelestia* disciplinam lux de tenebris
mutuetur
8.806. 5 *castrorum caelestium* signa dedantur,
10.808. 2 cessat error humanus et *sacramentorum caelestium* ratione
perspecta

EPISTULA 76
1.828.12 tot mercedes in *calestibus praemiis* quot nunc dies numeratis
in poenis?
2.829.20 o pedes in *saeculo* ad praesens ligati, . . .
cito a *terris* et poenis istis ad *caelorum regna* uenietis. . . .
saecularis haec et breuis *poena* . . . mutabitur,
3.830.18 (sacrificium) uobis ad retributionem *praemiorum caelestium*
profuturum, . . .
nec configuremini saeculo huic (Cf. Rom. 12. 2),
6.832.13 futuri maximi in *regno caelorum* pollicente Domino et dicente:
qui fecerit et sic docuerit maximus uocabitur in regno
caelorum (Cf. Matt. 5. 19). . . .
(uirgines) ad *caelestem coronam* gloria gemina prouexit.
7.833. 7 de *saeculo* recessuri ad martyrum munera et domicilia diuina
properatis,
post has *mundi tenebras* uisuri candidissimam lucem . . .
de istis *tenebris et laqueis mundi* nos . . . Deus liberet, . . .
in *regnis caelestibus* gaudeamus.

EPISTULA 80
1.839.10 parati omnes pro animi sui deuotione ad diuinam et *caelestem*
coronam.

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